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ABSTRACT

This book presents different ways of viewing the teacher supervision process, based on a study of supervisors and teachers in a graduate program for beginning teachers sponsored by a college of education in the northwestern United States. Data were obtained through interviews, observation, and conversation analysis. Chapter 1 examines beliefs about supervision through an anthropological lens, presenting both various practitioners' and theorists' views of supervision. The second chapter presents research findings on supervision conferences as interactional achievements, with a focus on the supervisor's role and issues of power and control. Chapter 3 examines the same conferences from the teachers' perspectives, using the theoretical frames of teacher socialization and school reform. Teacher resistance is examined in the fourth chapter, allowing for a critique of literature on teacher resistance and a critique of supervision itself. Chapter 5 presents a new approach to supervision--"situationally contexted supervision"--which is based on an anthropological and interactionist view of classrooms and schools. A postmodern theory of "dialogic supervision" is developed in the sixth chapter, an approach that addresses the asymmetries of power relations inherent in conventional supervision. The last chapter discusses the partnership of supervisors and teachers in a professional community. The content of the teacher-supervisor conferences is attached. (Contains 259 references.) (LMI)

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Rethinking Instructional Supervision

Duncan Waite

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Rethinking Instructional Supervision

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- 1 Rethinking Instructional Supervision: Notes of its Language and Culture
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Dedication

This book is dedicated to the loving memory of my grandfather, Lloyd M. 'Red' Bennett (c. 1900–1984), and to that of my uncle, Alan L. Bennett (c. 1926–1992), who both, and in their own ways, provided for me models, visions, and support for my life's journey.

Foreword

The field of supervision in education has a long history in the United States dating back more than one hundred years. Early attempts to closely monitor curriculum and instruction, even though geographic distances in rural areas made close control virtually impossible, and the influence of Frederick Taylor's industrial logic on educational administration during the early twentieth century, are often cited as evidence that supervision in education is inherently hierarchical and opposed to egalitarian values.

For some reason, the strong and clearly voiced dedication to principles of democracy, decentralization, and cooperative problem solving among pioneering supervision authors, such as Edward C. Elliott and James Fleming Hosie among others, is rarely acknowledged today. Also overlooked are publications of the National Education Association's Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction during the 1930s, which drew heavily on John Dewey's thinking. These works led to the view of supervision as a collaborative, problem-focused, democratic process, an idea popularized in a textbook by A. S. Barr, William H. Burton, and Leo J. Brueckner, which dominated educational supervision in the United States until the emergence of clinical supervision in the 1960s.

Clinical supervision represented a departure from the problem-focused, group strategies that had until then defined supervisory practice and theory. While retaining a focus on reflective thinking and problem solving, clinical supervision focused the supervisor's attention and efforts directly on individual classrooms as the targets and teachers as the agents of change.

Clinical supervision was invented and nurtured at Harvard University in the 1950s and 1960s by Morris Cogan, who considered it a way to develop professionally responsible teachers who were capable of analyzing their own performance, who were open to change and assistance from others, and who were, above all, self-directing. Many other authors, including Robert Goldhammer, Keith Acheson and Meredith Gall, Madeline Hunter, Carl Glickman, Noreen Garman, Kenneth Zeichner and Daniel Liston, and John Smyth, to name just a few, have since contributed their own interpretations to the concept and practice of clinical supervision.

This new book by Duncan Waite clearly falls within both the democratic and the clinical traditions in the literature of educational supervision. However, it departs significantly from most existing interpretations of those traditions by

challenging the reader with substantive data, new terminology and concepts, and fresh theoretical perspectives drawn from a broad variety of disciplines, including sociology, anthropology, linguistics, and philosophy.

Duncan Waite develops an original approach, termed 'situationally contexted supervision', which appears to stretch democratic principles to their limits by adding issues of power, hegemony, and resistance to traditional supervisory concerns of involvement, cooperation, and problem solving. He uses detailed analysis of face-to-face interactions between teachers and supervisors to rethink supervision and supervisor-teacher relations, and then proposes a dialogic form of supervision that draws on ideas from postmodernism, communitarianism, and feminism.

Professor Waite attempts to link the multiple and various contexts of supervision within an organic whole that he believes is more suited and more sensitive to the rapidly changing contexts of modern social, economic, and political global realities. The result is a proposal for a new form of supervision where everything is open to question, where no assumption, behavior, ideology, or belief is above critique, and where every decision is always open to reconsideration. He urges supervisors and teachers to work together in a humane, caring, and egalitarian manner to create an institution that is flexible, supportive, and constantly renewing itself. Supervisors would become advocates of teachers in an ongoing quest for alternatives, instead of imposing their own beliefs or acting on behalf of the formally stated goals of the school.

While the reader may not always agree with the assertions or conclusions put forth in this book, Dr. Waite is eminently successful in accomplishing his own stated goal of problematizing issues related to supervision. Many times I found myself writing frantically in the margins of the manuscript, evidence that my own thinking and taken for granted assumptions were being challenged. Our field certainly needs books like this one, that dispute our convictions, stretch our imaginations, stimulate our thinking, and enrich our understandings of the complexity and subtle nuances of supervisory relationships in schools.

Professor Edward Pajak

The University of Georgia

September 1994

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My immediate family has been my foundation, my joy and happiness, my *raison d'être*. Cecilia Santibáñez de Waite and her humor, her innate sense of life's essentials, and her interest and support have really made this whole thing possible. Tamara Waite Santibáñez has provided a *joie de vivre*, aside from her creativity, intelligence, and love. Hannah Waite Santibáñez has thrilled me endlessly, perplexed me, and made me laugh. Gabriel Allyn Waite Santibáñez has brought new joy and a renewed purpose to all of this.

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The Limits of Supervision and Beyond

This book is about different ways of seeing; different ways of seeing supervision, different ways for supervisors and those they work with to see themselves, and different ways for supervisors and other classroom observers to see classrooms. In an effort to expand thinking about supervision, this book takes a broad view of the field, its practitioners and their practices. There are many types of supervisors to be sure: university supervisors, central office supervisors of all types, local school-based supervisors – principals, assistant principals, media specialists and teacher-leaders – and many more who perform some supervisory tasks. This book is applicable to all of those and to others who are involved in instruction and instructional leadership, whether primarily school-based, university-based, central-office based, or based in a state department of education or a regional education service agency. In short, I do not want what is written here to be dismissed out-of-hand by a reader who might think the findings and implications of this book are only applicable to someone else. I invite anyone who works in/on instruction to read it and to make the proper applications, as they fit one's local situation.

One of the first premises on which this work is based is that in order to see where one is going, one must see from where one has come. The past is ever with us, on both personal and professional levels. This is true for the field of supervision.

In order for the reader to see where it is this book is going, it seems necessary to explain, to a certain degree, the personal professional journey of its author specifically, and the field of supervision more generally.

This volume contains research on supervision informed by a variety of disciplines and their concomitant perspectives, primarily those of anthropology, linguistics, philosophy and sociology. This work has been influenced by such different fields as symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology, ethnography and conversation analysis. This type of eclecticism presents advantages and disadvantages, but most of all it affords an entirely novel way of seeing, of examining a role, a social situation, an interaction, a culture. As such, this book represents a radical departure from other books on supervision. It is my wish that the reader may find much in these studies that is applicable to his or her practice, whether that practice is school-based, university-based, primarily pragmatic, theoretical, or some combination.

Years of research into supervision and into the beliefs and practices of supervisors have contributed to the evolution of the author's ideas about that practice and its future. Chapters 5 and 6 of this book, therefore, present alternatives to current supervisory practice, the last somewhat more theoretical and abstract than the first. As it is laid out, the book will take its reader through the history of supervision to the present, examining current supervisory practice in considerable depth, and suggesting alternative paths the individual supervisor and the field of supervision could take to extend supervision into the future, to make it a more robust, viable and relevant practice.

Since the author has so much invested in supervision and its study, it will come as no surprise that this book, though critical at times, overall can be seen as a defense of supervision. Another premise undergirding this work is that no practice, no ideology or belief, is sacrosanct, above critique. There is no practice that cannot benefit from well-intended criticism. This then is the thrust of this book. In developing that line of reasoning, I shall take a cue from *The Mad Hatter in Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*: begin at the beginning and when you reach the end, stop. But where to begin?

From Humble Beginnings to Monstrous Proportions

The beginnings of supervision, in the US at least, were really quite humble; administrators, principal-teachers, lead teachers and other instructional leaders were simply interested in bettering not just their own practice, but that of other teacher-colleagues as well. Community and school leaders were also interested in ensuring some level of competency in the personnel they employed. Due to the rural nature of the US in its early years, schools were widely dispersed over the countryside for the most part. Larger cities like New York, Boston, Philadelphia and others, developed much more quickly; their sheer numbers necessitated the development of some sort of hierarchy, some sort of organization. Unfortunately, instructional leaders, as is often the case even today, adopted and adapted that which was close to hand, taking their lead from the military and business. I say 'unfortunately' because many of the problems facing educational reform today can be laid at the feet of these now archaic organizational patterns and their vestiges.¹

Still, during the early development of supervision, teachers and other instructional leaders were as interested in communicating with their colleagues, especially about innovations in pedagogy and best practices, as they were about standardization. Then, as is still the case today, teachers would often travel great distances to partake in teachers' meetings, often dedicating their Friday evenings and Saturdays to such study. These meetings were the humble beginning of what became the normal schools in the US. There is a venerable history of teachers seeking to improve their own practices, without any urging, prodding, policing or other coercion from administrators. In fact, in the early rural schools in the US there were no administrators at all; they came later

when school size became an issue. As I said, in the larger cities, the need for administration was felt much earlier than in the hinterlands.

The ranks of administrators began to swell. As schools grew ever larger, the number of people employed by schools outside of the classroom grew until today, according to a report by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (Centre for Educational Research and Innovation, 1993, pp. 99–100), there are more 'support personnel' employed by US schools than there are teachers!² It may be that this trend has already reached its apex and is in decline; it is too early to tell. School reform, 'downsizing', decentralization, site-based decision making, and other similar programs seem destined to reduce the number of administrators at least, if not the other support staff such as bus drivers, cafeteria workers, and counselors. One central question resulting from the trend to decentralize, one which will be addressed later in this book, is 'Will supervision survive decentralization?'

Administrators are a breed apart from teachers (Hargreaves 1990). If they are not born that way, they quickly become so due to socialization pressures exerted on them by not only school organizations with their particular organizational patterns and cultures, but by teachers and others as well. Legion are the stories such as that told by a student of supervision who related that after assuming the role of Science Supervisor for her school district her next-door teaching colleague of 15 years refused to speak to her! Some of the difficulties encountered by my own supervision students in trying to carry out the alternative roles which I encourage them to assume are engendered by resistance on teachers' parts to any type of role flexibility.³ Teachers, it seems, know a supervisor when they see one. They know how supervisors are supposed to act (Waite 1994b), or at least they proceed as though they do.

With the ever-increasing numbers of students served and the layering of hierarchical levels, administrators became more and more removed from the actual site of teaching and learning, the place 'where the rubber hits the road', to borrow a colorful and descriptive phrase from my own students. Not only did administrators become further removed in the physical and organizational sense, but, again owing to the increased pressures caused by sheer numbers, administrators' focus of concern and their role responsibilities eventually grew to such a point that many were solely concerned with the running and maintenance of schools, and laid aside loftier pursuits. Evidence of this trend is seen in research and op-ed pieces that deal with the principal or headteacher as instructional leader. Even those whose title explicitly includes 'supervisor' have had to struggle to resist being inundated by the sheer press of managerial duties occasioned by ever-increasing student populations.⁴

Role ambiguity – one of the causes of stress least amenable to treatment – and continual diminishment of supervisors' and others' attention to traditional supervisory tasks such as staff development has resulted from consolidation of several distinct roles and job responsibilities within a single position. In many school districts, and at all levels, the administrator or supervisor, whatever the term, is called on to perform more and more of the duties which

were originally assigned to distinct positions. The result is that strictly supervisory tasks tend to get shelved or at best carried out only haphazardly, on a hit-or-miss basis. Another possible alternative is that such tasks devolve to 'lower' hierarchical positions within school organizations. This phenomenon may account for at least some of the popularity of teacher empowerment movements and recent efforts at decentralization. That is, those at the top find they can no longer carry out all their responsibilities due to the weight of enormous schools and their populations, so they delegate some of these responsibilities to subordinates. In one sense, this is a welcome change from high-handed, high-level bureaucratic management. However, it should be noted that often as the responsibilities are passed down, they are seldom accompanied by the requisite authority needed to see these tasks completely through. In the vernacular, if the school superintendent asked you to jump, you'd say 'how high?', but if someone further down the line asks the same, you'd probably think about it.

Part of the reason for this is to be found in the distinction between staff and line authority (Pajak 1989). Line authority captures the hierarchical, bureaucratic, chain-of-command style of leadership and authority. In other words, under this system superiors issue orders and subordinates must carry them out or be held accountable. Failure to carry out such commands or outright resistance is seen as insubordination, punishable by the loss of one's job. This is line authority: Any command, order, etc. issued by someone up the line carries considerable weight.

Supervisors, it is said, exercise staff authority (Pajak 1989), meaning that they have no direct authority *over* others with whom they work. Rather, their authority stems from other sources, such as expertise, knowledge and interpersonal skills.⁴ It could be argued that these forms of authority are much less hegemonic than line authority (Dunlap and Goldman 1991).

Real life situations in today's schools are, of course, much more complex than the simple distinction between line and staff authority would have us believe, as will be demonstrated in the following chapters. Supervisors and administrators both enjoy and exercise constellations of authority. Indeed, it shall be shown in the pages to follow that authority and power are in fact interactional achievements, seldom embedded transcendently in a position or person. It is within the margins, between the cracks so to speak, that much of school life, for both adults and children, gets played out. Such conditions provide the flexibility many people need to function with any sense of freedom. Hargreaves (1990: 315) writes of the 'back regions' of school life in such a way.⁵

Throughout much of the history of schooling, teachers have been caught in the middle, yet marginalized. They have been the target, the victim, if you will, of efforts at change, both well-meant and not so well-meant. This intent is exemplified in historical supervisory programs and processes such as administrative monitoring (Karier 1982, Bolin and Panaritis 1992), where administrators were out to cull the 'bad teachers' from the ranks. Unfortunately, traces of

this attitude persist today. Such traces persist within the ranks and mindset of administrators and persist in the defensive posturing of teachers that results from such an adversarial process. Even today, no matter how competent the teacher, the rise in anxiety level is palpable when the administrator takes to the hall with her or his clipboard on the occasional evaluation round. Word quickly spreads among teachers, through notes and secret codes, that they had best be on guard. Unfortunately, many confuse or equate this process with supervision itself (Waite 1994b), such is the burden we as supervisors and supervision theorists must bear, the industrial model mindset. It is pervasive in teachers' minds and in the public's as well.

Indeed the industrial model mindset is so pervasive and entrenched that many in supervision have suggested jettisoning the term supervision in order to coin a word for the process we practice and in which we believe. Such a radical break with the past, with our roots, is not without complications of its own however. Generally, theorists have made peace with the fact that such history and connotations are part and parcel of what the field has become. Besides, many of us who write in the field have gotten certain mileage out of distinguishing ourselves from that Other. This is as it should be. Authors and thinkers as diverse as Anthony Giddens (1984) and M. Mikhail Bakhtin (1981a) realize that it is only in discourse with the Other that the Self is defined.

Still, it is unfortunate to my way of thinking that the field of supervision, drawn as it is from the predominant societal paradigm in the US and other northern European-influenced societies, has privileged the individual as actor and responsible agent (Liston and Zeichner 1990). I say it is unfortunate because, as has been the case in supervision as well as in the wider public's calls for reform, it has been the individual who has been singled out (so to speak) for treatment. Goodman (1988), Apple (1986) and others have reasoned why this is so, reasons that have to do primarily with the fact the majority of the teaching profession for much of the past has been female. This social fact, coupled with theories of power and economic interests (Smyth 1992), has made marionettes of teachers. Aside from the symbolic violence done to teachers as a result of such paradigms, targeting the individual is both ineffectual and misses the point entirely.

Support for this statement will be garnered from the studies to follow. However, having made such a provocative statement, I feel obliged to explain it a little more here.

Apple (1986) has written of the deskilling of teachers and Smyth (1992) has written of how global market forces affect teachers. These processes act to isolate and disempower teachers, to remove them from having a voice in how their work is conceived at the initial and most fundamental levels. Treating teachers solely as individual agents, making individual teachers responsible for their 'success' or 'failure' is Calvinistic – the individual is responsible for his or her own salvation. Aside from the argument which could be made that such conceptions are the result of Cartesianism, or a synthetic separation of the agent from all other systems (Bateson 1972), this view of the individual absolves

larger systems – like schools, school systems, states, and federal governments and their policies – of the responsibility for the nurturing and growth of the individual. The attitude becomes, 'You take care of it. It's your problem.'

This very attitude is at least partially responsible (though there are, of course, other complicating factors) for the current and widespread (mis) conceptions concerning supervision. Holland *et al.* (1991) and others (Acheson, personal communication, April 11, 1992) have uncovered what appears to be the prevalent form of supervisory practice: that is, where a principal, or other authority, observes a teacher (and often only those who have given off signals of 'being in trouble'), and *tells* her or him what to fix and, sometimes, how to fix it. In this it's-your-problem-fix-it mode of operation, principals and others erroneously believe they have discharged their supervisory responsibilities completely by simply naming what, in their view, the problem is. No other suggestions are proffered, no other systems are put into place to assist the teacher who has been subjected to this bastardized form of supervision. It would not be too far amiss to label such supervisees as victims of the symbolic violence done by these erstwhile 'supervisors' and the beliefs and practices they employ. The damage does not stop with the individual teacher, however. Groups of teachers, their students, and the field of education as a whole, suffer under the misconception that supervision really equates with evaluation (Waite 1994b) and that the supervisor is 'out to get' the teacher. This popular misbelief hobbles supervision and has been the bane of supervision theorists for some years.

Aside for the symbolic violence done to the individual teacher through uninformed application of certain supervisory techniques, targeting the individual simply does not make good sense in the modern context. (This thesis will be elaborated in detail in Chapters 5 and 6.) Historically, and when operating as an arm of the administration, supervisors were often charged with seeing to the implementation of certain decisions made at a distance from the site of teaching and learning, that is, with curriculum implementation. These decisions, though often curricular in nature, had severe ramifications for life in classrooms and were, in this sense, political. Not only did these decisions by 'higher-ups' affect the micropolitical climate of classrooms, assignment to the supervisor of the responsibility to implement such decisions clearly and negatively affected the dynamic between supervisor and teacher. Again, in these cases, supervisors became 'snoopervisors' in teachers' eyes.

Today in many schools and school systems, teachers are being asked to come to the table to inform decisions affecting pedagogical, curricular and policy issues (Glickman 1993). Often in many schools there is a long history of suspicion to overcome before teachers feel unencumbered enough to engage freely in such discussions.

The last reason that targeting individual teachers is ineffectual (as will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6) is that *teachers are only one variable* among many that affect school life and student learning. Attention must be paid, following this line of reasoning, to whole contexts of life in schools.

Following Apple (1986) and Smyth (1992), teachers have become disempowered, deskilled. What many fail to realize is that if one's colleagues (subordinates, or what have you) become disempowered, that selfsame process disempowers the supervisor. Here an analogy can be drawn upon to make the point.

Teachers in the US and elsewhere are under increasing pressure to 'teach to the test'. For the past several decades, cheap standardized tests have been used to measure the so-called achievement of students. As others have pointed out (Gardner 1983, 1991; Eisner 1991; Brandt 1993b), what becomes valued in schools in these situations is what can be measured, *not* what is most important, which may be difficult or impossible to measure. This unreasonable pressure on teachers to raise their students' test scores, being the only accepted measure of educational attainment, places severe restrictions on teachers' and students' time, restricts their curricular options, and restricts the range of pedagogical alternatives. Forces such as this increased pressure to raise test scores encourage many teachers to teach to the middle range of ability of students, and results in whole populations of students being neglected and/or having their learning styles ignored.

Within such contexts, what is the supervisor's job, if such ends are accepted as viable? The supervisor's role is not much different in such situations from the disempowered and embattled teacher, it is just performed in another arena and on another level. Often today supervisors are under increased pressure to deal with teachers as a mass, to spend much of their time shuffling paperwork; the tangible outcome and endeavor of the supervisors' jobs, in short, is to remain ensconced in their offices, away from the classroom and school where, it could be argued, they are needed the most. Sadly, I have seen cohort after cohort of my supervision students enter their coursework with idealistic expectations, only to become disillusioned with the mundane minutiae, the 'administrivia' of their new positions. The gap between the ideal and possible and the real, expected and valued is so great as to paralyze some promising leaders from acting upon their convictions. The rewards for acting on one's convictions in cases such as this are intrinsic, the pressures (negative reinforcements) are immediate and ever-present. Which would you choose? How would you cope?

Fortunately, to my way of thinking, there are those who struggle to put their convictions into practice. It is fortunate for the teachers and students who benefit from contact with such idealists, but, unfortunate, at times, for the supervisor herself or himself. Often living one's convictions becomes an act of defiance, or if done covertly, an act of resistance, and may bring a heavy psychic cost. Again however, to my way of thinking, it is fortunate that modern school organizations are not unified totalities, seamless and utterly oppressive. In such disunified school organizations well-meaning supervisors can work their magic, and teachers and students benefit. Still, it strikes me as tragic that such supervision, it is felt, needs to be done undercover. This is an indication that if it is not the case that our values are inverted, then at least the

processes and policies currently in place run counter to the way things ought to be, to the way supervision ought to be practiced. (Alternatives to current supervisory practice, and rationales for them, will be presented in Chapters 5 and 6.)

In considering the disempowered teacher and supervisor, it is definitely *not* the case that teachers are waiting for some prince to ride up on a white horse to save them from their ineptitude! Rather, as I have attempted to show, teachers have long been concerned with the improvement of their instruction, often in spite of supervisors' efforts. One of the major themes of this book is that there are things supervisors and other administrators can do, because of their unique knowledge and position, to foster the conditions that can facilitate improvement (i.e. positive change) system-wide. What is at issue is whether those in such positions can and will move to become a part of efforts at improvement, or will they, that is supervisors and other administrators, become further removed from the instructional practices affecting schoolchildren and teachers? Will supervisors and other administrators become further deskilled themselves and be seen as an alien, unwelcome presence in classrooms and hallways? Throughout this book I offer suggestions as to how well-meaning supervisors and administrators can function positively to remain a part of what I feel should be at the heart of schooling: positive teaching and learning experiences for those in schools!

For it remains the case that only when considering power and empowerment as a zero-sum game does the empowerment of the Other appear to disempower the Self. More recent conceptions of power, especially those informed by feminist critique (Mills 1992), belie this facile notion. Relational conceptions of power recognize 'power with' in addition to the traditional notions of 'power over' (Dunlap and Goldman 1991).

Blaming the teacher flies in the face of recent thinking in various disciplines of the social sciences. Giddens' (1984) theory of structuration and Fay's (1977, 1987) discussion of critical theory draw our attention to the fact that individual agents have great difficulty changing themselves. This is due to the fact that we seldom operate in isolation, apart from other forces – historical, social and otherwise. In fact, following a symbolic interactionist perspective, we continually construct social forms and structures through our interactions. Even so-called microprocess such as minute conversational processes have been shown to contribute to larger structures (Moerman 1988; Boden and Zimmerman 1991; Wilson 1991), the point being that contexts and outcomes are *jointly* constructed through interaction.

Blaming the teacher is falsely accusing an individual for something that may well be outside of his or her power to influence, let alone control. Disempowering the teacher, by treating her or him as an atomistic entity, alone responsible for all outcomes and processes in which she or he has a hand, also disempowers and deskills the supervisor. In such an atomistic perspective/paradigm the supervisor has quite a burden to bear.

In the area of adult development, or andragogy, certain scholars have

recognized the need to expand our conceptions of what influences a person's growth throughout life (Dannefer and Perlmutter 1990). Dannefer and Perlmutter examined the processes influencing growth and development: ontogeny, habituation and cognitive generativity. Of these processes, they suggest that human ontogeny and habituation are the most fixed, with certain trajectories and expectancies. Cognitive generativity, on the other hand, remains fluid throughout an adult's life. Because of this relative flexibility, and depending on extra-individual factors such as the situations the individual operates in, an individual's capacity at cognitive generativity may peak early and plateau at a relatively low level or it may continue to climb throughout an individual's existence. The difference between individual levels of cognitive generativity, according to Dannefer and Perlmutter, depends on the situation. (See Chapter 5 for a more complete discussion of situations and situational supervision.) Cognitive generativity both contributes to and results from dialogic engagement with one's environment and with others' minds. It is the glory of human growth and development.

Overview

As was stated at the outset, this book is really about different ways of seeing supervision. The book is organized so as to lead its reader from a relatively more accessible, though new, conception of supervision through to ever more in-depth and esoteric discussions of supervisory practice, finally concluding in theoretical critiques of practice, each with recommendations for future work in the field. The book is organized into seven chapters. The first part of the book, Chapters 1 through 4, present alternative views, based on my research, of current supervisory practices. Chapters 5 and 6 each present a different theoretical critique of current practice and offer recommendations (for I hate to call them prescriptions) which I hope will serve to remedy the shortcomings I perceive in current practice – making supervision a more robust and viable alternative for teachers and supervisors alike.

Chapter 1 examines beliefs about supervision through an anthropological lens. It presents both various practitioners' and various theorists' views of supervision. These views about supervision hold cultural implications; indeed, it is suggested that there is a distinct culture of supervision, similar in certain regards to what authors have termed the cultures of teaching (Feiman-Nemser and Floden 1986), yet having distinct attributes.

Chapter 2 extends the motif of the first chapter in presenting research findings on supervision conferences, face-to-face interactions between supervisors and teachers, as interactional achievements. This chapter examines the supervisor's role in the conference, with implications for issues of power and control.

Chapter 3 takes the other side, examining those same conferences from teachers' perspectives. Three teacher conference roles are presented: the passive,

the collaborative and the adversarial. These roles are examined with the theoretical frames of teacher socialization and school reform.

In Chapter 4, I expand the discussion of the adversarial teacher conference role, couching it in terms of teacher resistance. This strategy allows for critique of the literature on teacher resistance, and critique of supervision itself.

Chapter 5 begins the more theoretical portion of the book. In that chapter, I present a new approach to supervision, 'situationally-contexted supervision'. This approach is premised on an anthropological and interactionist view of classrooms and schools. From such a perspective, supervisors are deskilled to the extent that the teachers with whom they work are deskilled. The major thrust of this chapter is that supervisors need to supervise *contexts* rather than supervising *teachers*, as is the case with more conventional models of supervision.

Chapter 6 extends the theoretical work underlying the whole book. There I develop a theory of 'dialogic supervision', an approach intended to address the asymmetries of power relations inherent in conventional supervision. Dialogic supervision is grounded, to the extent that anything can be grounded, in the postmodern. The subtitle for that chapter is 're-embedding supervision within the contexts of change', and that really is the leitmotif for the whole book. As a believer in the purpose, process and power of supervision, this chapter, and the book as a whole, are really loving attempts to rehabilitate supervision.

I conclude by tying the work together and projecting supervision into the near future.

Notes

- 1 Hargreaves (1994) writes of the inflexibility of modern educational organizations when faced with pressures to change.
- 2 Of all the countries for which data were reported, the US is the *only* country with more non-teaching staff employed in the education sector of the economy than teaching staff.
- 3 See Burbules (1986) for a thorough discussion of inflexible role expectations and their effects. This issue will also be taken up in Chapters 3 and 4.
- 4 Sergiovanni (1991, 1992) writes about the many different ways schools could be managed.
- 5 Characteristics of authority as a form of authorship will be discussed in Chapter 6.
- 6 It is interesting to note that some administrators, especially those who operate within the efficiency paradigm, seek to do away with these 'backwaters'. Another perspective on this phenomenon is offered by Erving Goffman (1959) in his discussion of public and private, or backstage, performances.

The Instructional Supervisor as a Cultural Guide and Other Not So Obvious Roles

Like teaching itself, instructional supervision lacks an agreed upon definition. The most common and least controversial definition is 'the improvement of instruction' (Weller 1971: 5).¹ However, since there is no agreed upon definition of 'instruction', this definition of supervision isn't of much help. Weller identified three functions of the supervisor: the counseling function, the teaching function and the training function (1971: 7-15). In this chapter, I suggest that an anthropologically-informed examination of supervisors and supervision would reveal other functions as well.

There is a need for such a qualitative understanding of supervision. This view was recently espoused by Pajak and Glickman (1989: 103) when they called for ethnographic study of supervision:

Ethnographic studies of teacher-supervisor interactions in actual school settings would be very enlightening . . . Both supervisory practice and subsequent research ought to be guided and tempered by perspectives that take personal meanings and social contexts into account.

Flinders (1991: 87) writes that 'the larger context of recent theoretical developments calls for new models of supervision firmly anchored in the concept of culture'. Additionally, he recommends 'extending the epistemology of culture into the practical realms that guide a supervisor's observations, discussions, and evaluations of classroom teaching' (p. 87). Though the primary thrust of Flinders's thesis is the classroom and its observation, he also extends his argument to cover teacher-supervisor interaction: 'This same framework . . . also promises to inform a second major aspect of the supervisor's work - providing teachers with the feedback that will lead to improved classroom teaching' (p. 103).

Thus there are those who feel that an ethnographic or anthropological perspective should aid in a re-examination of the assumptions and taken-for-granted nature of the practice of supervision. The advantages of an ethnographic view of supervision can well be imagined: such a view should encourage supervisors to examine their own practices in light of this qualitative

understanding and this may result in more 'reflective practitioners'; such study may establish a definition of supervision and will almost certainly validate the numerous roles supervisors play in the professional lives of teachers, and there should be something in such a study which would inform change efforts targeting the practice of supervisors and their formal education.

What is the evidence that there are cultural aspects to supervision?² Basically, the evidence for a cultural dimension to supervision can be found reflected in actual practice and peppered throughout the literature.

Cultural References in the Supervision Literature

Some authors acknowledge the 'contexts of supervision' (Acheson and Gall 1987). Others have begun to address the cultural aspects of classroom observation as an essential aspect of instructional supervision (Bowers and Flinders 1991; Flinders 1991). Sergiovanni (1985: 11-12) writes in 'Landscapes, Mindscapes, and Reflective Practice in Supervision' that

the task of the supervisor is to make sense of messy situations by increasing understanding and discovering and communicating meaning ... since supervisory messes are context bound and situationally determined ...

Meanings and understandings are essential characteristics of culture, as is making sense (see for example Garfinkel 1967; McDermott and Church 1976).

Other authors examine the effects of colleges of education - with their preservice supervision components - and cooperating teachers on the socialization of student teachers (Tabachnick *et al.* 1979/80; Zeichner and Tabachnick 1981).³ Lamenting the lack of a critical orientation among the supervisors they studied, Tabachnick *et al.* (1979/80: 22) note:

Contrary to popular belief, the university and schools were not in competition with each other for the hearts and minds of students; instead they collaborated closely with one another to create a powerful conservative force for defending existing institutional arrangements from close scrutiny and challenge. The language of the university in seminars and supervisory conferences failed to penetrate the taken-for-granted world of the school and subtly encouraged acquiescence and conformity to existing school routines.

Zeichner *et al.* (1988: 351) discuss the 'traditional-craft' orientation to the relationship between student teachers and their university supervisor and cooperating teacher. They find that:

The master-apprentice relationship is generally seen as the vehicle for transmitting *this cultural knowledge*. In this program both the cooperating teacher and the supervisor are construed as potential masters and the elementary student teacher as the student. (emphasis added)

Alfonso (1986) writes of school culture as an 'unseen supervisor' acting to restrain change efforts. Alfonso's treatment appears to be more concerned with the district supervisor than the university supervisor, though both are mentioned. His combination of these two, arguably distinct, roles creates some confusion and lessens the impact of his criticism. For, as I will argue, the university supervisor has a much greater impact on the student teacher's orientation to the cultures of teaching than the district supervisor may have in relation to that of the established teacher.

Alfonso (1986: 2) is critical of the role supervisors perform in schools: 'Evidence is sorely lacking that supervisors really make a difference'. The difference the author speaks of is that of changing 'the culture of the school' (p. 20). I wish to draw a distinction between my views and those of Alfonso. Alfonso assumes the supervisor's role to be that of change-agent within the organizational structure; in this chapter I argue that an essential role of the supervisor is that of guiding students in the process of becoming teachers by orienting them to school – and teacher culture. In fact, Alfonso argues that supervisors ought to take a more active role in socializing new teachers: 'The process through which new teachers are socialized is an area in which supervisors could have some influence, but in fact have very little' (1986: 23). I suggest that they already do as much, especially with student teachers and beginning teachers. Yet, as socialization differs from acculturation, Alfonso may be seen to be suggesting a weaker role for the supervisor, a more superficial and more bureaucratic function.¹ I, however, propose that supervisors act as cultural agents – involved in initiating new teachers to the local instantiation of teacher culture and working to change their worldviews at a more fundamental level.

Though the distinction between socialization and acculturation might, at first blush, seem trivial, much hinges on the distinction, both for the individual teacher and for the supervisor. For example, those who have worked in schools for awhile begin to notice a difference between levels of teacher commitment. There are those a principal-friend of mine refers to as the 'eight-to-three-type' of teacher, all packed and ready to leave when the bell rings. One of the central dilemmas facing supervisors is how to motivate such minimally-committed teachers to give more to their students and to the school community. This same issue – that between socialization and acculturation – is highlighted in the differences between those who see teaching as a calling and those who see it as a job. (More will be said about teacher socialization and the supervisor's role in it in Chapter 3.) It should be noted, however, that socialization and acculturation are *not* mutually exclusive processes. For example, a person's socialization may be an antecedent to his or her acculturation. In a sense,

acculturation assumes successful socialization, but the reverse is not always the case, as discussed above. It may be that someone goes no further than socialization, refusing to be or unable to become acculturated.

Migra's (1976) 'The Transition from Theory into Practice: A Microethnography of Student Teaching as a Cultural Experience' bridges the gap between theory and practice in the examination of the paths student teachers take in becoming teachers. Though its focus seems to be the student teacher cooperating teacher relationship, it also offers a rare glimpse into the role played by the university supervisor.⁵ Migra notes:

Where the students sought immediate feedback and constructive criticism, the teachers were willing to give it with the condition that it be accepted on their terms. These terms were that the student not be defensive and the advice be followed. The difficulty stemmed from the fact that the cooperating teachers seldom communicated these terms of the relationship. The student teachers were left to guess this expected behavior. As a result, both participants in this communication gap sought out the university supervisor and expected her to mediate the situation. (1976: 77)

Hence the university supervisor's role was seen as a facilitator: 'Student teachers complained to the university supervisor that they didn't know what the cooperating teachers wanted' (p. 79). The university supervisor was oriented to viewing student teachers as professionals: 'Some students experienced difficulty because they were encouraged by the university supervisor to think of themselves as professionals, while the reality demanded that they "know their place"' (p. 91).

Other aspects of the university supervisor's role were made clear: 'The university supervisor played a liaison role acting as advisor to both students and teachers with regard to appropriateness of classroom activities and matters of sequence and timing' (Migra 1976: 97) and '[w]here the communication concerned professional growth in social, emotional, and technical areas, the primary contact was between the student teacher and the university supervisor.'

Migra (1976: 97) observed that it was the university supervisor and not the cooperating teacher who took the time and assumed the responsibility of dealing with the student teachers' 'questions, value conflicts, and needs'. She found that due to expectations and prior experiences this was what cooperating teachers and student teachers assumed the university supervisor's role entailed. She also noted that:

It appears that the university supervisor assumed a facilitation role because neither cooperating teacher or student teacher clearly stated expectations or clarified value positions to the other. This seemed to be an expected part of the role of supervisor. The 'messenger' role of the supervisor was also part of role behavior expected by principal

and other staff members since the supervisor was designated 'responsible' for the student teachers. (1976: 98)

These, then, are a few of the pieces to be found in the literature which touch upon the role of the supervisor and the culture of supervision. What of practice?

Voices from the Field

Several of the previous works cited relied, at least partially, upon studies of supervisor-student teacher interaction. In augmenting these works in defense of my position, I wish to draw upon discussions I have held with four experienced supervisors charged with aiding intern teachers' transition from the university into teaching. Each of these supervisors holds both a university and a school district title.

Faye⁶ – an old hand with over 15 years' experience in this particular program – describes her role in these terms:

I feel in my supervisory capacity I do a lot of 'mothering' to get started. I think that's what it would be called. In fact, I balk at the word 'supervisor'. Because it's like somebody's super and somebody else isn't. No, I'm not the ordinary supervisor . . . So it's really difficult for me to see myself as a supervisor; either as a mirror or as a superordinate kind of thing . . . I feel more comfortable with the word 'coordinator'.

So I guess I do 'mothering'. I do supply-giving. I do all of that hand-aid stuff because I think it's the first step. If you don't have a crutch, you get one. So I do it and people call me 'mother hen' . . . Somebody said something about my mothering her [one of the teacher interns]. I do less than I did. I do less emotional support on her than I did because she's getting stronger. I know it's not where I want to be. It is what I do. It's my job, to help her keep functioning; if she needs more pats on the pooh-poo to keep going, that she's doing a good job. And I'll give them to her until she can begin to see her own way. She won't need them anymore.

I feel like it's a kind of relationship kind of role – something like it is with the teacher and the kids – in that I would like to be their friend but it's not critical to their role in life that we be. I try.

They want to use us as a safety measure or as a protective device and I think they should be able to. I think they want to be able to say, 'Well, I can't do this because Faye says . . .' or, 'If I did that Faye would be really upset.' I think they want to be able to do that and if they

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need it, it's OK with me. If we're their best buddy I don't think they can use us in that way with their principals or with other teachers. They sometimes need it for their own defense.

Another supervisor with the program, Vern, talked about his interaction with some of his more 'ideal' intern teachers:

Rather than being [supervisor]/student, it became two colleagues – one of whom sat in the back of the classroom with that extra set of eyes and gave them feedback, which they could accept or reject.

Vern spoke of the problem of rapport and of negotiating rights to enter and observe an intern teacher's class:

I'd like to feel that I was trusted enough that I could just wander in and out. One of the things that taught me [an earlier, difficult relationship with an intern teacher:] was the importance of establishing a working relationship and trust so if the teacher doesn't know you, you don't come in with your guns blazing right away. Instead you try to find good things and you establish a feeling of trust, even though that's never completely possible if you're a stranger.

Vern spoke of the qualities an ideal supervisor should possess:

I think that having a developmental sense of the candidate is important. I think just being willing to listen and to be there and be willing to make adjustments.

He also spoke of his style of observation:

I show up whenever I want to. I walk in at whatever part of the lesson. I sit down and I take what's called a 'modified verbatim'. I was trained in Madeline Hunter [Instructional Theory into Practice or ITIP] . . . I get key words and key phrases and key sentences down and key trigger-ideas that are those things that I'm thinking of talking about . . . At the beginning of the lesson it's kind of like listening . . . I have to get into the teacher so by just getting their words down – no matter what they're saying, the kids are saying – the first four or five minutes, all of that and not even making any judgment on that. That gets me loosened up to the class. It gets me really watching and focusing.

Vern talked more about his role:

Those are things that I'm paid to bring up, ethically and morally. I think that anything having an influence upon that person in the

classroom should be brought up. Now, you have to approach some of those things appropriately.

When speaking of the teacher's need to fit the culture of the local school population, Vern asked:

How much do we make them adapt and how much do we adapt? It's a real Catch-22. Because if they don't adapt – even if there are a few of us around to believe in them – if they can't adapt enough, all those people here who pay the taxes to keep the school open, we don't have control over *their* adaptability, you know? And they're the ones who, in the long run, could sink the ship, so to speak.

Helen, another of the program's supervisors, was quite articulate in listing the responsibilities of a supervisor as she saw them:

And then the third thing is to have that knowledge of self and vision . . . and being able to help these 'kids' have a philosophy, a vision, and to translate that into classroom practice . . . You want them to teach one another; to be actively involved; to be reflective, problem-solve. And that our responsibility . . . is to provide guidance. Not that we *do* the work for them, but that we provide guidance and help them. And so we, as you know, referred to them as 'our babies'. We call 'em 'our babies'. And what that means, basically, is that they are newborn entities and it's not *total* parenting but it is a whole aspect of parenting to these kids.

In reflecting upon her concerns for a new supervisor, Helen said:

Because she's had student teachers and graduate teaching assistants she might want to do too much for them rather than let them experience failure, which is very important. And I like her willingness to help and go in and do things but she has to remember that these are individuals in charge of their classroom and that they are responsible. She is not to be the responsible person for them.

Kendra, the fourth supervisor, spoke of her role in helping her interns to 'keep a balance':

Helping them keep a balance; because I've learned with my years in life how very, very important that is and how it destroys my teaching if I don't keep a balance in my life. And I see them tipping the scales way, way off – to the point of focusing everything on the school, kids, problems, curriculum, report cards; and neglecting themselves and any significant people in their lives.

'Allowing them to fail' was a phrase Kendra used in speaking of the process of encouraging change in these adult learners:

So they internalize it. It takes time. It has to be important to them. They have to see its value to them, personally, as a teacher. It has to fit into their value system, their philosophy. And there has to be an adult learner [the supervisor] that's strong enough to allow them to fail as they change.

And the bottom line in being a [supervisor] with these full time professional teachers is: they will do what they choose to do because they are *not* student teachers. And, yes, you can give them assignments and you can make requirements but when you leave the room they will teach the way they want and they will write lesson plans the way they want to. So I help them figure out what is really effective for them. Because they want to be good teachers they're usually receptive to those kinds of ideas.

Kendra talked of her interns' growth:

In other words, as they gain in expertise and knowledge and skill I find myself deferring to them and realizing that they have suddenly acquired some knowledge and skills and things that I don't know or that are extensions of things I know. Not that they didn't know things that I didn't know at the beginning but they become better teachers and I don't feel the need to point as many things out to them as I might have originally.

She spoke of the changes she made in her role in response to the yearly cycle of growth by her interns:

I mean I'm obviously winding down this time of the year – taking as much pressure off of them as I possibly can. What they're going to change, they've changed already or they're not going to change it this year.

At another time, Kendra spoke of the uselessness of negative feedback and criticism in getting adult learners to grow or change:

Well, I think one of the reasons is that research doesn't indicate that anybody's going to change with those kinds of comments being given to them. They will *not* make critical change. They might change for their supervisor, 'because my supervisor said it was the shits'. But once they're on their own without a supervisor, they're going right back – it isn't internalized. It isn't valued by them. Somehow, I think we all try to make it, to phrase it or to give them data or to overwhelm

them with the idea that, 'hey, this really wasn't very good and for the sake of the *kids*, [you] can do better. [You] need to do better.'

You give the person no room to move [with negative criticism]. You attack not just their teaching but them as people, as individuals, as professionals. You're hitting all the buttons when you come on like that, I think.

She also talked about the ambiguous nature of teaching and the incertitude of those interventions she might suggest: 'Nobody has any absolute answers.'

Both the literature and the field are ripe with evidence that, anthropologically speaking, one role supervisors perform – and acknowledge that they perform – is that of guiding the nascent teacher into the cultures of teaching and their realizations in their particular school.

Characteristics of the University Supervisor

What characteristics do university supervisors possess which make them ideal candidates for the role of guide in orienting their charges to teacher culture? Let us begin with a discussion of socialization. One assumption operating here is that socialization is an interactive process, a two-way street (Wentworth 1980), and that each actor affects the others. Zeichner and Tabachnick (1985), following Lacey (1977), identify three strategies novice teachers may employ in meeting the situational demands placed upon them: internalized adjustment, strategic compliance and strategic redefinition (pp. 9–10). In describing the complexity of the socialization process of student teachers and that of its study, they state:

the induction of beginning teachers is highly context specific, related in each instance to unique interactions of persons (who possess varying levels of skills and capabilities) and school contexts (which differ in the constraints and opportunities for action they present to beginning teachers), it becomes necessary to study how specific beginning teachers are inducted into particular school contexts before attempting to formulate generalizations about the process of entry into the teaching role. (1985: 4)

For one to fulfill the role of guide, there also needs to be a 'follower', a student. Students or novice teachers have a say in who they will follow and who they will believe (though not necessarily in who is assigned them). Perhaps it's no more than supposition, but it would seem beginning teachers develop an affinity for those who support them in turn; those who were perceived to share some characteristics with the student or beginning teacher; and, quite possibly, those who seem accurately to interpret the world of the student and explicate the complexities of classrooms and schools. This is the

meaning-making function of the guide and it manifests itself in the relation between the two people. It manifests itself in what the supervisor sees and says, in the language used in the conferences and what is communicated non-verbally.

University supervisors generally have been teachers – and often not too long ago.⁷ As teachers, most of these supervisors became enculturated into both the general teacher culture (Feiman-Nemser and Floden 1986) and into some local variety. It may be advantageous for the student teacher if the supervisor has been a member in good standing in the district of the student teacher's current placement, or, if not, to have had experience and be recognized there. As Migra (1976) pointed out, it wasn't just the student teacher who was oriented to the university supervisor as a mediator or facilitator; cooperating teachers and principals were too.

Figuratively speaking, the university supervisor has a foot in each of the worlds of the student teacher: the school and the university. Though there are differences between university programs as to the frequency and duration of supervisor–teacher contact, the supervision models employed, and university teacher education curriculum, the university supervisor is usually familiar with the student teachers' courses and professors. The supervisor can facilitate communication between university and classroom. In fact, I would suggest that the usefulness of the supervisor as a guide depends, in part, on how successfully they are able to negotiate local teacher culture – where they are accepted as members by the cooperating teacher, the principal and the secretary. In this regard the intern teacher supervisor has a distinct advantage over the university supervisor. In my experience, unknown supervisors often need to establish their credentials for the cooperating teacher in the early face-to-face encounters.

In the case of the supervisors quoted above, there have been selection processes operating for them to come to be in the positions they hold; sometimes a certain mentor is mentioned, sometimes university coursework, or extensive district training through workshops, and so on. Also, because of the position they now hold, these supervisors have moved on to become something that is not quite a teacher. These supervisors, with their district appointments (one works in personnel), are committed to recruiting select interns for their district. I do not mean to suggest that the recruitment process is simple, however. Other factors are also in operation, such as the intern's decision, the principal's opinion of the new teacher, the community's acceptance and opinion of him or her (more relevant perhaps, the smaller the community), and district budget considerations. It is the building principal who makes the original hiring decision of this particular program's placements, and the principal who decides whether or not to make the position permanent. The supervisor acts to socialize the beginning teacher to *both* district *and* school norms and, through some subtle and some not-so-subtle interventions, to enculturate the new teacher. Ultimately, the supervisor has to make some decisions about who fits in and who doesn't.

This is at the crux of an important difference between the supervisor of interns and the supervisor of student teachers. The district – through its agent, the supervisor – is making an investment (by paying the supervisor's salary, etc.) in the intern teacher and demonstrating a high level of commitment; the university and its agent – usually a graduate student with no particular district affiliation at the time – doesn't make a like commitment, though doubtless it is true that some university professors supervise student teachers and there may be other district/university collaborations that are not specifically addressed here. It should be mentioned that some teachers-cum-graduate students functioning as supervisors are planning to return to the classroom and some plan not to. Still, it is generally true that people in whatever role or position have their primary and, perhaps, secondary affiliations and get some reinforcement for their beliefs when those in their charge show a willingness or interest to become members of their mentor's group, be that as a university professor, classroom teacher, or supervisor. Otherwise, why would someone even choose to mentor another?

Toward an Ethnography of Supervision: Supervisor Culture

I wish to join my voice to those of Papak and Glickman (1989) in calling for a full-blown ethnography of supervision. Such an ethnography would reveal how supervisors go about doing what it is they do and would make explicit the meanings or understandings supervisors bring to their work. What might an ethnography of supervision reveal? As noted, supervisors generally have undergone enculturation as teachers (see Feiman-Nemser and Floden 1986) and may have evolved or been socialized beyond that into a 'supervisor culture'. The assumptions and worldview of a teacher then becomes part of the supervisor's baggage.

All participants in supervision hold some notion of what a supervisor is and does (Waite 1994b). These notions and their activation on the scene help to create a 'supervisor culture' that is both similar and dissimilar to teacher culture. The characteristics of any supervisor include a degree of adherence to the norms of supervisor culture.

What does supervisor culture contribute to the way supervisors think and operate? And – a related question – how can these norms, beliefs and actions be best brought to the level of awareness for either the supervisor or the student of supervision?

Like teachers, supervisors believe in individualization of instruction; quite common are the discussions of supervisors' desires to adapt to the needs and style of a new teacher. An idea that is related to individualization is that of 'autonomy', which in turn is related to the concept of professionalism.⁸ Migra (1976) has shown how supervisors orient to the student teacher as a professional – a message often at odds with those received from cooperating teachers (or university professors). The supervisor's orientation towards the student

teacher as a professional sets her or him apart from others with whom the budding teacher comes into contact. A student teacher may not become a bona fide member of a teacher culture in the eyes of its members until she or he has gained at least one year's experience, often more. During an intern's first year the metamorphosis is apparent soon after December. Supervisors may orient to the student teacher as a 'teacher' even earlier than the student herself or himself. The norms, the philosophy of many supervision models reinforce this.

Coupled with the definition of the student teacher as professional are norms that dictate how a supervisor is to interact with such a professional. Chief among these norms is that of non-interruption. The supervisor is aware of the statement they would be making if they were to interrupt a student teacher, intern, or teacher during the teacher's lesson and proceed to say or model 'this is how it should be done'. Supervisors point to this strategy's negative effect upon both student teachers and their pupils. One reason may be that supervisors realize the role that pupils play in the socialization/enculturation of new teachers (Blase 1986) and may seek to avoid any negative fallout from their actions, such as the undermining of the teacher.

Another norm of interaction between professionals influences the structure and content of feedback conferences. There is a preference for supervisors to avoid directives such as 'do this', (Pajak and Glickman 1989) in guiding teachers to become reflective. There may be a spill-over effect from the norms affecting reflective practice. This, coupled with the restraints introduced by notions of autonomy, may limit supervisors from being directive. Another rationale for supervisory avoidance of bald, affrontive remarks is to be found in the theoretical work of sociolinguistics concerning face threatening acts (FTAs) (e.g. Brown and Levinson 1978).⁹ Conferences take on interesting dimensions when viewed cross-culturally. In cultures such as the Athapaskan of Alberta, Canada (Scollon and Scollon 1981) those who possess wisdom or knowledge are in the position of demonstrating or displaying that knowledge while the novice listens, watches and learns. The opposite is the case in North American society generally, and in teaching more specifically (Mehan 1979).

In supervision, it is the novice who displays and not the knowledgeable supervisor.¹⁰ The supervisor arrives upon the scene and discusses the upcoming lesson with the student teacher or may simply assume a seat in the back of the room, depending upon the time available and the model of supervision in use. (See Vern's comments above about his technique.) Often a preconference is held to check that the student teacher has all the bases covered, but it also serves to orient the supervisor to the teacher's style and assumptions. The supervisor may choose to ask questions or make suggestions at this point in an attempt to lessen the possibility that something will go wrong – a protective role the supervisor assumes – or in an effort to assure the student teacher's fidelity to the view the university (or the supervisor, personally) has of teaching. This, again, is a meaning-making (i.e. cultural) activity in which the supervisor engages the student teacher.

The student teacher then may be asked to display again in answering the supervisor's question about which 'problem' or area the teacher would like feedback on or even which observational instrument would be most useful (this decision is often left to the supervisor). It should be noted that in managing these supervisory decisions, the supervisor and the student teacher act out their assumptions concerning the nature of supervision and the relationship between the participants (e.g. power-solidarity issues). (Chapters 2, 3, and 4 further the discussion of power and respective roles.)

The student teacher displays yet again in performing the teaching act, while the supervisor gathers whatever was agreed upon or what seems most relevant or problematic. In making these decisions, the supervisor acts out cultural assumptions concerning such things as the nature of teaching, the role of the teacher in interacting with students, what is permissible or desirable in 'managing' younger people, where this adult should be positioned in relation to the pupils, and so on.

In the 'post-conference' held after the teaching act, the student teacher is asked to display again in debriefing the lesson. At many institutions, students 'know the drill': 'What went well?' 'What you would you do differently?' These questions, as well as the conference itself, may take on ritualistic overtones (Garman 1990).

An ethnography of supervision may reveal that supervisors' warrants for what they do include:

- 1 concern for the student teacher;
- 2 concern for the pupils in the classroom;
- 3 the supervisor's or university's philosophical orientation; and
- 4 perceived time pressures – both in the observation and conference and in the length of the relationship.

Indeed, concern for the pupils in the classroom has been cited as 'the bottom line' and used as a warrant for violating the norms of supervisor-teacher interaction, for example, interrupting the lesson (Waite 1990:91). The time factor is often used as a warrant for violating the norms centered around professionalism when the supervisor feels a need to be direct.

An ethnography of supervision could benefit from an application of Hall's (1959) three levels of culture – the formal, the informal and the technical – in examining supervisor culture. Generally, the technical culture of teaching is the supervisor's domain. Such an ethnography of supervision would include attention being paid to the cultural aspects of teaching behavior such as 'time on task', method, strategy, planning, the pacing of the lesson, questioning, and the teacher's efforts to assess the student learning which resulted from the lesson. When the supervisor deviates from the technical and enters the informal or formal aspects of culture, an ethnography of supervision may reveal cultural aspects of the nation, the community and the school which have an impact upon how teaching is practiced and perceived. An ethnography of

supervision may weave together Hall's three levels with the various contexts or geographical/political levels (global, national, regional and local) to show how they influence local practices. Such an undertaking is a tall order, requiring the investment of untold hours of work.¹¹

Implications

If the general thrust of the ideas presented here is on target, then what are the implications for the education of supervisors? Abrell and Hanna (1978) caution supervisors against dealing with teachers as simple individual manifestations of the collective teacher culture. They warn that a teacher may possess knowledge of teacher culture sufficient enough to allow them to look and act like a teacher and yet be deficient in the technical skills required for the job. In fact, it has been suggested (Wolcott 1989) that teachers would be more successful in their jobs and be more favorably perceived by colleagues if they are well-versed in the informal rather than formal or technical aspects of teacher culture, a finding seemingly supported by Zeichner and Tabachnick (1985: 16) in their reporting of first-year teachers being able to ignore bureaucratic rules.

The same possibility exists for supervisors themselves. Granting the existence of a separate 'supervisor culture', one may have cultural knowledge of the formal and informal sufficient to act the part of a supervisor without possessing technical expertise. I imagine there are those in the position of supervisor who possess little or no expertise in any of these three levels of culture (Hall 1959).¹² It may be that the supervisor who operates more within the informal or formal may prove of more service to the beginning teacher than the more technically-oriented supervisor.

I would like to suggest that more educators become practitioners of the ethnographic study of their environment – which may aid in self-study also. With this I join a long line of others (Gearing and Hughes 1975; Hymes 1980; Kilbourn 1984). I'm not sure I would argue that all teachers receive the rigorous training or attack fieldwork with quite as much vigor as anthropologists have been known to do – though I certainly would not want to see the opportunity denied them (and with the schools filled with ethnographers, who's going to teach? And what?). The problem of 'nearsightedness' may yet remain, and people may still be prone to not see or else deny what was happening (Henry 1972). Actually, dyed-in-the-wool ethnographers probably wouldn't suit the needs of teachers, who are known for wanting immediate feedback. Is another set of eyes the only viable answer then? Ethnographic training, and its accompanying introspection, is essential to seeing beyond the simply technical level of teacher and school culture. Often, the instruments commonly in use for classroom observation are inadequate to reveal what is really going on in classrooms.

A supervisor who was trained in ethnography would be more apt to see the underlying cultural assumptions and resultant behaviors operating in a

classroom or school. This ability to perceive cultural aspects of schooling may be accomplished simply through making greater use of the lessons from anthropology. I am not suggesting that ethnography is the only way to expand supervisors' awareness. I do believe, however, that I have shown how cultural aspects of thought and behavior deeply affect supervision. Nor has it been my intention to value a certain cultural knowledge over another. I believe all these aspects of supervision are important. I believe that they all should be openly acknowledged and valued.

To this end, the next chapter examines in detail interactions between supervisors and teachers. The same supervisors introduced in this chapter will be shown in face-to-face interactions with teachers. As will be explained shortly, an in-depth analytical procedure, conversation analysis, will be coupled with ethnographic techniques to reveal different views of these interactions, and the different analyses, interpretations and implications such different ways of seeing supervision permit.

Notes

1. Weller attributes this definition to Lucio and McNeil (1959: 26). He also wrote: 'Instructional supervision is a poorly defined and inadequately conceptualized process' (1971: 4).
2. The concept of culture employed in this chapter is that of a unified system of meaning people ascribe to their lives, both personal and professional. It should be noted that 'culture' is an heuristic employed by anthropologists and seldom contemplated or made explicit by the members themselves, hence its taken-for-granted nature. There is a definite distinction between so-called 'school culture' and 'school climate'. For a comprehensive discussion of 'the cultures of teaching' see the work of that same name by Feiman-Nemser and Floden (1986).
3. See Chapter 3 for a more complete discussion of beginning-teacher socialization and supervisors' effects on such socialization.
4. Socialization and enculturation (or acculturation) differ as to the degree of investment and taken-for-grantedness of the actor's beliefs and actions. Enculturation points to the phenomenon of internalization of shared beliefs. Socialization, on the other hand, tends to deal more with outward signs of compliance: Do the actor's actions fit the social norms of a locale? Whether the actor truly accepts a system of beliefs is not a primary concern for those interested in socialization.
5. Harry Wolcott (personal communication May 16, 1989) liked to give the example of his armed service career. In order to get along in the service, he had to act a certain way (socialization). Whether or not he truly believed in the philosophies and mindset of the military (acculturation) was open to question.
6. Presumably the supervisor of which she writes was Migra herself. Recently there have been a number of treatments of student teaching from an anthropological perspective (Head 1992; White 1989).
7. All names are pseudonyms.
8. Those supervisors quoted above would qualify as university supervisors because of their university affiliation - a role to which some status is attached, both by the supervisors themselves and by other district staff.
9. 'Autonomy', as it is used in this context, is an elusive quality. Kilbourn (1982: 2) argues that the 'spirit of clinical supervision' lies in autonomy, evidence and

continuity. Yet how is it that one can be said to be autonomous when interacting with 30 vibrant human beings at one time? (cf. Lortie 1975: 100, 146-151; and Little 1990).

- 9 Chapter 2 includes a much more complete discussion of face threatening acts and their application to teacher-supervisor face-to-face interaction.
- 10 Levels of expertise and their ramifications become a bit more problematic when supervision is done for in-service teachers. Still, it is hoped (and claims for supervision are built on the fact) that the supervisor offers *something* to the teacher, if only 'another set of eyes'.
- 11 Hall wrote that these three levels of culture may operate simultaneously (1959: 72), so ferreting out the influences on any one area would be a considerable task. Also McDermott *et al.* (1978) suggest that an ethnographically-adequate description links local with global processes.
- 12 There is an easy relation here between Hall's (1959) levels of culture and Alfonso *et al.*'s (1984) supervisory skill mix of human, technical and managerial skills.

Supervisors' Talk

Much, though certainly not all, of the work of supervisors is carried out in face-to-face interactions with teachers, administrators and others. The prevalent medium or channel for these encounters is talk. Supervisory conferences, especially pre- and post-observation conferences, have attracted the attention of researchers primarily because they are occasions for such face-to-face interaction with the ostensible purpose of improving instruction (Weller 1971: 4). How are supervisory conferences accomplished however, and what meaning do they hold for participants? To these questions, most supervision authors are mute.

However, advances in the fields of anthropological linguistics and sociolinguistics hold important implications for understanding supervisory practice. An anthropological linguistic examination of the supervisory conference as a unique type of talk not only yields its particular characteristics, but also aids in the understanding of the participants' orientations, and informs the theories and practice – the praxis – of supervision. One particular project of this book is to foster a revitalization of the practice and theory of supervision through a more profound understanding of its processes and practitioners' beliefs. Tangentially, such understandings should aid the practitioner who is so disposed in efforts at increased cooperation and collegiality. In short, such new understandings should facilitate reform.

Authors in the field of supervision have echoed Weller's (1971: 1) early call for research on the *processes* of supervision, yet there have been very few such studies. Research on supervisory conferences has relied heavily upon coding schemes and their predetermined categories (e.g. Weller 1971; Blumberg, 1980). Often these protocols are simply adaptations of classroom observation instruments not specifically designed for supervisory conferences (Zeichner and Liston 1985: 157). Other research on supervisory conferences has examined simulations involving actors in the role of supervisor (Pajak and Glickman 1989). More qualitatively-based research into supervisory conferences often has relied upon statistical aggregation of data (e.g. Zeichner and Liston 1985) or theoretical exegesis (e.g. Garman 1990; Smyth 1991b).

Other fields of inquiry have long since employed qualitative methodologies, yet it seems that the 'paradigm shift in education' (Guba 1991) toward more naturalistic study has only just begun to influence studies in supervision.¹ The disciplines of anthropology, sociology and linguistics have been in the

forefront of research concerned with understanding the 'object of study' with regard to the 'subject's' own meaning system – a so-called 'emic' perspective (Pike 1954: 8). Advances in the fields of anthropological linguistics and sociolinguistics, for example, have contributed to our understanding of the nature of language and context. Such approaches are necessary to inform the discourse in supervision concerning its role and function in the lives of teachers and supervisors.

Some authors have already raised issues which could be explicated through qualitative study. Garman (1990: 211) has raised questions concerning the ritual nature of the conference and its value as an 'educative event'. Smyth (1991a), borrowing from Goldhammer (1969), has advanced a definition of clinical supervision as a collegial relation between *teachers*. Writing from a critical perspective based in the Australian experience, where the terms 'administrator' and 'supervisor' are synonymous, Smyth forcefully argues for clinical supervision as a form of critical inquiry into the nature of teachers' work. For him, this process is facilitated only in true collegial interaction, devoid of the power differential that often characterizes teacher-supervisor interaction. In another report, Smyth (1991b) cautioned that 'collegial' relations may serve technical and control functions at the same time that teachers become disenfranchised from curricular decisions. This is congruent with the work done by Hargreaves and Dawe (1990) on 'contrived collegiality'. Retallick reported on a project he initiated to facilitate 'enlightened self-knowledge for teachers in place of a hegemony of control' (Retallick 1990: 4) through supervisory structures that focused upon critical examination of 'distorted communication brought about by unequal power relationships' (p. 12).

These writings represent an important beginning. There still remain considerable gaps in our understanding, gaps that can be filled with more comprehensive, inductive studies of supervision, its contexts and its accomplishment. So why has so much of the research on conferences focused upon supervisor-teacher *verbal behavior* by employing coding schemes and categories, when other, more qualitative examinations of teacher-supervisor interaction hold such promise?

What seems to be at issue is the definition of 'conference'. If conferences are defined as discrete, unconnected events ordered by physical laws, then 'scientific' (i.e. positivistic) methods may be appropriate for their study. However, if conferences are seen to be nested within their contexts and understood to be human accomplishments, then it could be argued that only qualitative methods can make sense of them. Early on, Cogan (1973) suggested that 'all working contacts between the teacher and supervisor are "conference"' and proposed a 'contextual definition' (p. 196) of the conference, but later researchers and writers in supervision have abandoned this contextual definition for a narrower view of the conference as a discrete event, amenable to scientific analysis (e.g. Weller 1971).²

In this chapter I present descriptions and interpretations of processes supervisors employ for their part in conferences with teachers. (Later, in the

next chapter, I will examine the processes teachers employ and some of the roles they assume in conferences with supervisors.) Here I will attempt to reconstruct a contextual definition of some supervision conferences, and suggest some implications for the future study and practice of supervision.

The following, then, is a report of an anthropological linguistic study of five supervisory conferences. My research combined observation, interview and 'hermeneutic dialectic negotiation' (Guba and Lincoln 1989: 151) with conversation analysis – an analytical technique with roots in symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology and focused on talk-in-interaction (Shutz 1962, 1964; Garfinkel 1967; Goffman 1967).

Research Context and Participants

The supervisors of this study, some of whom were introduced in the previous chapter, and the teachers with whom they worked were participants in a graduate program for beginning teachers sponsored by a college of education in the northwestern United States. The program was modeled after the Harvard master of arts in teaching summer school program (Goldhammer 1969; see Cogan 1973; Garman 1990).

Teachers admitted to the program attended summer courses on the university campus. They then left for their assigned districts, where they had probationary contracts for that year. For two weeks before the start of their public school classes, these teachers met daily with their district supervisor to receive instruction designed to help them with the start of classes.

The understanding between the university and the participating districts was that the supervisors would make weekly visits to the teachers' classrooms and also conduct weekly seminars for them, generally held at their central office after school. The visits were to be formative. The supervisors were prohibited by contractual obligations, program policy and other, self-imposed restraints from formally evaluating their teachers for district administrators. One supervisor, Faye, said she actively resisted the requests of principals to 'stack them up like cordwood'.

Though the supervisors, as their school district's liaison with the university, had originally identified those candidates who were to be interviewed for these positions, building principals made the hiring decisions affecting placement. At the end of the year the building principal decided whether to offer the teacher a regular contract.

Supervisors

The three supervisors discussed here – Faye, Vern, and Kendra – all held central office appointments and each was charged with supervising five or six beginning teachers.

Faye, whose district was a mill town, was a full time central office administrator; supervision was an additional responsibility. Her early experience had been as an elementary teacher. She had been with this program for 15 years and her district was peppered with teachers she had supervised. She was two years from retirement.

Vern held a half time appointment as a program supervisor and a half time appointment as a personnel officer. His district included the international headquarters of many high tech firms and was a 'bedroom community' of the state's largest metropolitan area. His classroom experience was in high school English, and this was his second year with the program. He considered himself to be collegial in his working relationships with teachers.

Kendra, whose district was in the same area as a major research university with a large teachers college, was released from the classroom to supervise full time with this program. She had an office at the university and one in the district central offices. She had taught in an alternative elementary school. Her teachers referred to her as 'supportive'.

Teachers

Bea, one of Faye's supervisees, was in her early to mid-40s. She was 'local' – from the area of her new teaching assignment – and had done her student teaching there. She taught fifth grade. Her entry into the program was problematic because of irregularities with her basic skills tests. Still, at least one principal in her district had lobbied heavily for her inclusion in the program.

Ed was in his second year of teaching, having transferred from a more rural district further south to Vern's district. Ed also taught fifth grade. He and Doug were two of Vern's charges and both were considered 'affirmative action hires' – Ed was Chinese-Hawaiian and Doug was Vietnamese. Doug taught in a first-grade classroom and was the only teacher in this program who did not have full responsibility for his own classroom; he was placed in another teacher's classroom because of peculiarities with his certification and, similar to a student teacher's experience, was expected to assume greater responsibility as the year progressed.

Kari worked with Kendra in the university district. She was a younger teacher, in her mid to late 20s. Kendra related to me that Kari had been hired by her principal to reinvigorate a staff whose modal age was near 50. She taught language arts in a middle school.

Fieldwork

As assistant director for the program, I had established a professional relationship with the program participants. In an effort to understand what supervisors did when they were 'doing supervision', I asked to be allowed to interview

Figure 2.1 Transcript notation

-	A dash is used to signal a slight pause, generally of less than 0.2 seconds.
(0.0)	Parentheses show longer pauses, timed in tenths of a second.
^	Caret shows rising intonation.
'	Subscripted caret shows falling intonation.
* *	Superscripted 'o's enclose passages which are quieter than the surrounding talk.
[]	Brackets enclose simultaneous talk, marking onset and resolution.
<i>ital</i>	Words italicized are given stress by the speaker.
()	Parentheses show transcriber's doubt, or inaudible passages.
{ () }	Double parentheses show occurrences in the setting that are not part of the talk.
> <	Arrows are used to enclose passages spoken at a much quicker rate than surrounding talk.
=	Latches show where one speaker's turn begins immediately after the preceding speaker's with no pause.
:	Colons show elongated sounds, generally each colon represents a beat.
CAPS	Capitals show talk that is louder than surrounding talk.
h	shows an audible in-breath.
h	shows an audible exhalation.

Note: This protocol was derived from the work initially done by Gail Jefferson and reported in Schenkein (1978).

them and follow them as they interacted with their teachers. I conducted at least three 'career history interviews' (Agar 1986: 64) with each of the supervisors, centered on their professional life histories and their definitions of supervision. These interviews took place at the supervisors' convenience, generally in their offices or while they went about fulfilling their professional responsibilities, and lasted an hour to an hour-and-a-half each.

I accompanied each supervisor on at least one classroom observation. After the observation I conducted a 'debriefing interview' with each supervisor of an hour-and-a-half to two hours long. These observations and interviews took place in May and June, near the end of the school year. I recorded five supervisory conferences in all: one pre- and one post-observation conference with Kari, the middle school teacher (occurring between periods), and post-observation conferences with the elementary school teachers Bea, Ed and Doug. The conferences lasted from five to 28 minutes. Four of the conferences took place in the teacher's classroom, and the fifth, Doug's was held on folding chairs in a storage room. I transcribed the conference tapes using a conversation analysis transcript notation protocol (see Figure 2.1).

Analysis

The term 'analysis' when applied to a qualitative study is somewhat misleading, implying, among other things, a discrete phase of a research project. I prefer the term 'understanding', or the plural, 'understandings', which speaks to the holistic, tentative and ongoing process of making sense of what the researcher has seen and heard. Understanding has long been a goal of qualitative researchers (Wax 1971; Wolcott 1990: 146) and it is a less restrictive

term than 'analysis' in that it allows for other knowledge, such as that gained through subsequent reading(s), to inform a particular study. This process is similar to what Guba and Lincoln (1989: 89-90) describe as a 'constructivist', or 'hermeneutic' research process and what Bakhtin termed 'dialogue' or 'dialogization' (Bakhtin 1981a: 283) - internalized or externalized discourse among competing definitions of the same phenomenon. The constructivist paradigm admits to a dialectical tacking back and forth between 'emic' and 'etic' conceptions (Guba and Lincoln 1989: 84) or 'experience-near' and 'experience-distant' conceptions, respectively (Geertz 1983: 57).

My understandings of supervision and supervisory conferences actually started with my experience as a graduate assistant charged with supervising student teachers. As I reflected upon that role, I was inclined to examine my face-to-face interactions with those teachers. Concern for my role and responsibilities drew me into classes on clinical supervision with Keith Acheson, co-author of *Techniques in the Clinical Supervision of Teachers* (Acheson and Gall 1992).

Upon entering the field to begin this study, I found I had as much unlearning to do as I did learning. My teachers, the supervisors mentioned, were gentle and patient, yet insistent that I understand them and their world. 'Analysis' truly began upon entering the field. My understandings were continually checked with my informants and against the wealth of literature I was able to uncover that dealt with both supervision and supervisory conferences.

Common Conference Processes

Unboundedness

Unlike previous researchers of supervisory conferences (e.g. Blumberg 1970, 1980; Kyte 1971; Weller 1971; Holloway 1982), I found conferences to be 'unbounded'. By this, I mean that the conferences were differentially related to the numerous contexts within which they occurred, a phenomenon Cicourel (1992) terms interpenetration of contexts. There is ample evidence from both the ethnographic material and the conversation transcripts of the interrelationship of conference and context.

This notion of context is reinforced by the literature of anthropological linguistics (Cook-Gumperz and Gumperz 1976) and sociolinguistics (Cicourel 1974; Mehan 1979; Briggs 1986). The anthropological perspective considers contexts to be 'interpretative frames that are *constructed* by the participants in the course of discourse' (Briggs 1986: 12). The sociological perspective is of contexts as phenomenological constructs created jointly by participants that are 'continually renegotiated in the course of the interaction' (Briggs 1986: 25). Such considerations of context eschew macro-micro distinctions for their artificiality, and are more comprehensive than simple listings of the physical attributes of a setting or of the participants themselves.

As stated, every conference but one took place in the teacher's classroom, generally with students present. Doug's conference, however, was convened in a storage area adjacent to the music room with strains of 'My Favorite Things', as practiced by an elementary school strings class, wafting in and out of the conference. The transcripts show repeatedly that participants were aware of the contexts in which they found themselves, often made reference to them, and had recourse to employ the contexts in accomplishing their 'moves', that is, in realizing their particular turns at talk.⁴ As an example, the middle school teacher, Kari, terminated both her pre- and post-observation conferences by addressing her remarks to students in the room. Vern and Ed modulated the volume of their voices when speaking of sensitive matters or stopped conferencing altogether while Ed disciplined students during their conference, which was held in the front of Ed's fifth-grade classroom as the students did seatwork. In so doing, these two were able to establish and reinforce their shared perceptions of each other as educators, a process known as 'identity work' – 'the behavior a person generates in an attempt to make sense of and to feel good about an ongoing situation' (McDermott and Church 1976: 122). (Chapter 3 will examine teachers' roles in these conferences in more detail.)

Another example of the unboundedness of conferences comes from the conference in which the teacher, Bea, mentioned her class outside:

Transcript Fragment 2.1

- 145 ((Bea goes to window))
 146 Bea =I'm jus – concerned that my kids are out
 147 -there ((at recess)) with no supervision
 148 Faye OH!
 149 well you'd better get out ^ the re, ^ then
 150 Bea ^ no! be's
 151 still out -there – that's good (1.2) >just
 152 let me -check and make -sure< – ^ O.K=

Notice the negotiation evident here. At this point in the conference, the teacher got up – actually 'leaving' the conference momentarily – to go to the window. This occurrence followed two other 'interruptions': an electronic bell (probably ignored on any conscious level), and that of another teacher who stopped by to borrow a stopwatch. Later in the same conference the teacher monitoring Bea's class knocked on the door to confer with her. At this point, Bea again 'left' the conference to negotiate another 'three or four minutes' with the teacher (actually the conference lasted *much* longer).

This teacher never again mentioned her group outside, but the supervisor, Faye, did. Near the end of this face-to-face encounter, and after she had attempted to take her leave by employing other leave-taking strategies, Faye brought up the group outside (lines 759–760 and 762):

Transcript Fragment 2.2

- 754 Faye: ((to observer)) well *Dun-can* - do you wanna
755 -go: - or are you gonna -*stay*: Here I *am* -
756 *walkin'* outta *here* and ^*he's* stayin' -*here*
757 ((laughs)) and *he's* - *watching me* -
758 Bea: ((to observer)) yeah, thank you ((laughs))
759 Faye: *leave*. It's because - *I'm* thinking *you* need
760 to *be out* on *that play-ground*.
761 Bea: *I'm* going -*out* - *I'm* gonna *take*=
762 Faye: =I *SEE YOU* looking out *there* - *so* -
763 frequent ly
764 Bea: I'm gonna t-¹

This transcript fragment shows that the group outside - part of the larger, physical context - held continuing conversational relevance for the participants throughout the conference. Again, contexts influenced all the conferences, though perhaps never as explicitly as in the preceding example.

Conference Phases

Another common characteristic of the conferences I observed was what I refer to as 'phases'. In these conference transcripts I noted three phases:

- 1 the supervisor report phase;
- 2 the teacher response phase; and
- 3 a programmatic phase.

I do not mean to imply that phases are discrete. Participants move in and out of phases with relative ease. Phases are dynamic. For the present analysis, whenever both participants exhibit the behaviors indicative of a particular orientation to 'what is happening now', they are in a particular phase. When in a particular phase certain characteristics hold for all conferences.

Schefflen (1973: 65) employed the term 'phase' in writing of the hierarchical organization of non-verbal behavior:

When two or more people come together they engage in a common activity . . . These activities form a context for the relations, which become phases in the sequences of the activity. Each phase is a context for the particular kinds of communicative behavior which each participant contributes.

The term 'phase' is applied in this sense.

The (analyst's) attributions of phases were assigned according to these criteria: who initiated topics; who succeeded in any overlap or competition for

the floor, and who conceded; which participant, the supervisor or the teacher, had the most and the longest turns at talk; and which participant's turns were simply 'acknowledgment tokens', such as 'um hum', etc. (Goodwin and Heritage 1990: 288).⁴

Due to the nature of participants' turns at the floor, topic initiation, turn size, and the result of occasional competition for the floor, 'ownership' of each of these phases has been ascribed to one of the participants or the other. The first phase is the *supervisor report phase*. Here the supervisor initiates topics and has the longest turns at the floor. The supervisor usually escalates in response to any (perceived) competition for the floor and the teacher usually concedes in such instances. The teacher's turns are generally and simply acknowledgments such as 'um hum' or 'uh huh'. 'Acknowledgment tokens' such as these are seen as implying the speaker's orientation to other's talk as not yet done:

the projection of an acknowledgment token (such as 'mm hm') projects (but does not require) the continuation of another speaker's talk. Simultaneously it usually displays an analysis of the other speaker's prior talk as being incomplete so far. (Goodwin and Heritage, 1990: 288)

Teachers' extensive use of acknowledgment tokens during this phase demonstrates their orientation to and even acceptance of the supervisor's dominance of the supervisor's report phase.

Though teachers have longer turns and the supervisor assumes an acknowledging posture during the *teacher response phase*, it is a response to supervisor initiated topics. In this sense, the supervisor's control extends across even this phase. A further rationale for assigning ownership of this phase to the teacher is that when simultaneous talk occurs during this phase, it is usually the supervisor who drops out. As teachers generally have and can keep the floor during this phase, they may advance their own agenda as well as their rationale for observed teaching behaviors.

In the third phase, the *programmatic phase*, ownership is ascribed to the teacher. While the size of turns and their distribution are relatively equal for supervisor and teacher, it is generally the teacher who initiates topics in this phase. Three of the four teachers in this study brought up programmatic concerns during their conferences. Kari did not. Ed's programmatic concerns were situated at the beginning of his conference.

In the first phase, the supervisor report phase, the supervisor took the floor to report on what he or she had observed in the lesson. Both supervisor and teacher seemed oriented to this reporting as the role and responsibility of the supervisor and as being the primary, ostensible purpose for a conference. That is why, of all three phases, the supervisor report phase came at the beginning of the conference and the teacher took an acknowledging posture. Literature in the field of instructional supervision supports this interpretation (Hunter 1980; Retallick 1990: 22).

This reporting was usually done chronologically – beginning with the first bit of data the supervisor had written, and continuing until either the end of the data was reached or other topics were introduced and exhausted.⁵ If other topics were introduced, the supervisor often initiated a return to the reporting function at a later time.

Strong support for my assertion that the participants were oriented to the opening of the post-conference as a time for the supervisor's report is given in the conference between Kendra and Kari, where the supervisor opened with (lines 1–2):

Transcript Fragment 2.3

- 1 Kendra I just took down ^all kinds of ^stuff
2 -*here* ((excited voice)) (0.3) u:m
3 Kari OK
4 Kendra I first I -started doing a little
5 *break-down of time* – for :you
6 Kari "um ^hum"

Note that the teacher's assent (lines 3 and 6) demonstrates an orientation to the fact that the supervisor should begin with just such a report. The supervisor implied that she had collected data *for* the teacher (line 5).

During this portion of the conference, supervisors reported upon classroom occurrences from their particular points of view. One supervisor, Vern, saw a gender issue develop. Another, Kendra, saw a management issue with a boy who was acting out. Faye saw the teacher not focus the group or clarify the intent of her questions.

Supervisors had the floor for most of this phase and they initiated most of the topics. Some of these topics were only loosely associated with the data. Vern's discussion of the gender-equity issue as it relates to science and math education is an example of this. In the course of the discussion, he mentioned his trip to Harvard, works by the author Carol Gilligan, cultural constraints and norms that operate against inclusion of girls in science lessons, an anecdote about a female teaching colleague who crumpled up and threw away the 'consumables' from her science curriculum, and more, all not directly related to the supervisor's 'observation'.

During the report phase, teachers' turns at talk were filled with acknowledgment tokens such as 'uh huh', and 'um'. Acknowledgment tokens, while technically turns at talk, are definitely *not* attempts to take and hold the floor. As suggested above, acknowledgment tokens can be used to encourage the other – the supervisor in this case – to continue speaking. Teachers seldom interrupted and hardly ever initiated discussion of a new topic during the supervisor report phase.

Supervisors also employed various strategies to retain the floor, *especially* during the supervisor report phase. Raised voice, increased speed, overlapping, repetition, and elongation of utterances or use of 'floor holders' such as

'um' were used by supervisors, alone or in combination, to retain the floor during this phase. Transcript Fragment 2.4 is an example of the supervisor's use of raised voice in overlap to keep the floor – an interruption (note line 157):

Transcript Fragment 2.4

- 153 Faye: =the – intent of this question – is
 154 (0.8) if – you were=
 155 Bea: =oh, I forgot to take
 156 my ()
 157 Faye: IF – YOU WERE – TAKING – 'a pen-cil – at
 158 the end' see what you're after 'here' –
 159 IS – THEM to think

Once this supervisor was certain she had indeed retained the floor, once she was 'in the clear' after a slight pause (denoted by a dash), she lowered her voice.

Some supervisors quickly employed these strategies at the slightest hint that the teacher may have been making a bid for the floor, for instance, when the teacher may have 'misplaced' an acknowledgment token in mid-turn instead of at the 'appropriate' juncture. Transcript Fragment 2.5 is such an example. Lines 456 and 458 demonstrate how the supervisor, Vern, increased his speed to retain the floor; line 460 demonstrates how he signalled his intention to continue speaking with an inhalation (h), and continued over Doug's acknowledgment.

Transcript Fragment 2.5

- 449 Vern: go back h and (finally-) th- you know – you
 450 – did it again< and you got Tim to go back
 451 to his DESK. THERE'S A KID WHO WAS BEING
 452 RESISTANT but you – WERE PERSISTENT – OK
 453 ? h THAT WAS GOOD – you did not choose
 454 to ig^nore -that, because – >you know<
 455 sometimes it's easiest to ignore it when
 456 they don' t do it >sometimes
 457 Doug: um hum
 458 Vern: they QUIT< (0.5) but they don't- in- = >ya
 459 know< th- he might have quit – misbehaving
 460 h but he do esn't ignore
 461 Doug: um hum
 462 Vern: ^it. h and – the moment he ignores one of a
 463 com-mand, when you make a com-mand at that –
 464 strength and that commitment – h other kids
 465 are watching. (0.7)

Supervisors worked at retaining control of 'their' conference phase. Some worked harder than others. Perhaps the amount of work needed to be done by supervisors depended on how much the teacher shared the supervisor's orientation as to the function of the conference and their respective roles in it. This may explain the contentious nature of the conference between Faye and Bea, why Bea constantly 'interrupted' the conference, and why – according to Faye – she was prone to 'arguing'.⁶ This explanation is bolstered by Herbert Blumer's (1972: 73) discussion of the importance of gesture for symbolic interactionism. He wrote:

When the gesture has the same meaning for both, the two parties understand each other . . . [Gesture] signifies what the person to whom it is directed is to do; it signifies what the person who is making the gesture plans to do; and it signifies the joint action that is to arise by the articulation of the acts of both . . . If there is confusion or misunderstanding along any one of those three lines of meaning, communication is ineffective, interaction is impeded, and the formation of joint action is blocked.

An equally persuasive interpretation of the contentious nature of this conference is offered by consideration of the concept of resistance. Following this line of reasoning, because of the control Faye exerted over Bea and the conference, the only option Bea had to assert herself was in 'breaking the frame' (Briggs 1986: 56) of the conference. Comparison between an interview and a supervisory conference is problematic; however, certain analytical leverage is gained in considering Briggs's discussion of the social roles in interviews:

The typical interview situation grants the interviewer principal rights to topical selection by virtue of her or his provision of the questions. He or she further determines whether a response counts as an answer by choosing whether or not to reiterate the question during his or her next turn . . . In sum, the interviewer maintains a great deal of control over the interaction; the respondent's principal means of subverting this power lies in breaking the frame of the interview. (1986: 56)

Further, Briggs stated that 'when the system is working properly, the participants accept the roles assigned to them by the structure of the interview' (1986: 56).

The other conference phases seemed to belong to the teacher. In the teacher response phase, the teachers' turns at talk were large and the supervisors usually took the acknowledging posture, punctuating the teachers' turns with 'um hum's, etc. Though I have written that this phase belongs to the teacher, one must remember that, though the teachers' turn sizes were relatively unrestricted, the teachers' choice of topic was heavily restricted, that is,

in this phase the teachers' turns were restricted to responding to the topics – such as teaching behaviors – originally identified by the supervisor.⁷

The programmatic phase may be particular to these conferences and this program, though I suspect that other supervisory conferences have similar, non-observation related elements that may be termed 'rapport building'. For example, in counseling interviews Erickson (1975) and his associates (Erickson and Shultz 1981) found that 'the institutional objectivity of the gatekeeping situation is easily overridden by extra-institutional factors' (Scollon 1981a: 4), such as co-membership in groups or organizations outside the immediate context. Scollon continues:

These personal factors . . . have the power to override the purely institutional considerations to such an extent that they may be thought of as *the primary determinants* of life chances in institutional gatekeeping encounters. (emphasis added)

In the programmatic phase, teachers and supervisors discussed class assignments, upcoming mock job interviews and future career opportunities. My warrant for assigning 'ownership' of the programmatic phase to the teacher is that, though the turns at talk were relatively equally distributed in both turn size and turn order, it was generally the teacher who initiated the topics during this phase.

Questions

Another feature of supervisory conferences is the participants' use of questions. Generally, the conferences began with a supervisor question.

Questions can perform several tasks but they almost always require some response. The question-answer dyad has been labeled 'an adjacency pair' by Sacks *et al.* (1978: 28). According to these authors a specific 'first-pair part' makes relevant a particular 'second-pair part' (e.g. a greeting makes a return greeting relevant). Moreover, people orient to the lack of the second-pair part. If a question is asked, the lack of an answer becomes apparent. More complex questions may require an account as a response.

These teachers seemed oriented to providing an answer in the form of an account to the initial supervisor question. Generally, these global accounts were constructed so as to comprise a debriefing of the lesson. One such initial supervisor question is shown here:

Transcript Fragment 2.6

- 1 Vern: (How did you) feel about the various parts
- 2 of the lesson?

These early questions call for global, not specifically detailed, accounts. This may be why these teachers took only one to three turns at the beginning

of a post-conference before topic control reverted to the supervisor. The rules or routines governing the question-answer dyad, or 'adjacency pair' (Sacks *et al.* 1978), above illustrate how this can occur. Schematically, if the conference proceeds Q (Supervisor) – A (Teacher), the next turn 'belongs' to the supervisor, who, as noted, has a free, or unencumbered, turn, unlike the teacher. Even in more complex question-answer exchanges, for instance those involving embedded question-answer adjacency pairs (where, before or in order to answer the original question, the teacher asks a question himself or herself for clarification, etc.) even in these exchanges the free, unencumbered turn returns to the supervisor. Schematically: Q (Supervisor) – Q (Teacher) – A (Supervisor) – A (Teacher). For example:

Supervisor: How did you feel about the lesson?

Teacher: Which part of the lesson?

Supervisor: I mean, did you accomplish your objective?

Teacher: I feel like I did.

Supervisor: (free to change topics, introduce new topic, seek additional information, and so on.)⁶

In the post-conferences of this data set, the supervisor got the floor back after the teacher responded to the initial, global supervisor question. The supervisor then elaborated on the teacher's response, clarified the question, called for a further account, or actually provided a candidate, or alternate, and equally acceptable response to the question before continuing with the supervisor report phase.

Specific Conference Processes

Mitigation of Criticisms and Suggestions

These three supervisors often lessened the force of their criticisms and suggestions. While Pajak and Seyfarth (1983) wrote of this as 'inauthentic supervisory behavior', I will not render such a judgment here. Rather, I simply wish to describe this interactional phenomenon and offer an explanation of how and why this may occur in the face-to-face interaction between supervisor and teacher.

I found supervisors lessened, or mitigated, the force of their criticisms or suggestions in at least two distinct ways: through the use of 'I' statements; and through the use of modal auxiliaries, such as 'might', 'could', 'would', and so on. These verbal strategies were often used in combination.

'I' Statements

In the example below, the supervisor began her suggestion with 'you', then switched to an 'I' statement in mid-turn (line 2):

Transcript Fragment 2.7

- 33 Faye: -h and *th* - *the* intent of *this* ques-*tion*
 34 (0.5) is - to *de-al* (0.7) *sometimes* you *th*-
 35 it *helps* me to word '*em* into another °(kind
 36 of) question°

The use of 'I' statements may show respect for the professional autonomy of teachers while allowing them to benefit from the classroom experience of the supervisor – if the teachers so choose. It remains up to the professional judgment of teachers whether to accept the suggestion. They may conclude that a particular suggestion is not best for this group at this time, or that it does not fit their teaching style. In other words, teachers are left with the option of thinking 'yes, you may; but I am not you'.

Another explanation for these 'I' statements is that supervisors may use this strategy to emphasize their solidarity with the teacher. Brown and Gilman (1972) have written of this as the usage of 'pronouns of power and solidarity'.⁹ Courtney Cazden (1976: 88) also discussed the pronouns of power and solidarity in school language, and their effect: 'There is accumulating evidence that power relationships exert a constraining effect on the language of the less powerful person.'

Brown and Gilman (1972) wrote that a shift in pronominal usage – for example from the formal V (for *tusted*) to the informal T (for *tú*) in Latin-based languages like French, Italian and Spanish – signified a shift in the relationship for the speaker. A shift from the formal to the informal indicates that the speaker wishes to emphasize solidarity and de-emphasize any power differential between the speaker and listener. Following this line of reasoning, in adopting the 'I' perspective supervisors would be making the most radical pronominal shift possible and, in a sense, be taking the teacher's voice. In effect, the supervisor is saying, 'I'm just like you.'

Modal Auxiliaries

Modal auxiliaries (such as 'might've', 'could've' or 'would've') sometimes were employed by supervisors when criticizing or suggesting alternatives to teachers (line 172 below):

Transcript Fragment 2.8

- 170 Vern: to: g₁o on -h °one *thing*
 171 Ed: um hum¹
 172 Vern: you *might've* - *wanted* to uh- be *do[^]ing*
 173 *-there°* - is *Brent* *did* *^not* *give* *-you* the
 174 *cor[^]rect* *-re-sponse* - if you *^re-call* - *be*
 175 - *h* was c- he gave a *con-fuse₁d* resp₁ ond
 176 Ed: *different¹*
 177 *respon₁se*

bit later in the same conference (lines 196–201):

Transcript Fragment 2.9

- 196 Vern: °one of the .things you ^might wanna've
197 .done° - >when you were doing .that ^ac-tive
198 .par-tic-ipa-tion piece< was to have -h -
199 .mo-ved a-round - and ^lis-tened to - what
200 they .were talk-ing a-bout -h 'cause you
201 ^would've heard it .in-ge >every-thing<
202 from these .two - >°over here< who didn't
203 know so they .were - >^they were< -
204 >polite< but they were si-lent -
205 ^lis-ten-ing to° ^these .two over .here - he
206 po- he .pro^bab-ly .knew
207 Ed: uh huh=

This strategy also may allow the teacher some professional autonomy in decision making. Notice the difference in force between the possible ways to state the same suggestion or criticism, between 'you should have' and the less forceful 'you might have' or 'you could have'.

As stated, these strategies also were used in combination (lines 32, 35 and 38):

Transcript Fragment 2.10

- 28 Vern: uh:m, things and I think we practiced
29 this one because one ((chuckle in voice))
30 of the things -hh that I was going to -h
31 mention - in watching that was - was
32 (0.6) I - might've - because they had
33 been on the carpet before=
34 Doug: =um hum=
35 Vern: =when -hh I might've - felt a need for
36 physical change -h and at - THAT point
37 in time your only option for physical
38 change- would've been to have 'em - re-
39 - go back to their desks, and then -hh
40 have 'em in their individual seats -
41 while- - you gave instructions.

A functional explanation for these strategies is found in Brown and Levinson's discussion of 'face threatening acts' (Brown and Levinson 1978: 65). Face threatening acts (FTAs) are speech acts which may entail a loss of face for participants in a conversation. For the listener (the teacher in this case), these FTAs can be orders, requests, suggestions, advice, reminders, threats, warnings, dares, expressions of disapproval, contempt or ridicule, complaints or reprimands, accusations, insults, contradictions or disagreements, and/or challenges.

Brown and Levinson (1978) outline some strategies of how one might go about performing an FTA. One such strategy, that of performing the FTA with

'redressive action' and employing 'positive politeness' (pp. 74–75), seems to explain one supervisor's strategy in conference. During our debrief, Faye commented to me that the lesson we had just witnessed was 'the poorest role-play of any of them'. Still, in conference with the teacher, she said this:

Transcript Fragment 2.11

- 625 Faye: But – uh (0.5) *it* would be *good* – for *her*
 626 to be *able* to see *-your:s* – because *she*
 627 would *say* – oh – >I *shoulda* done *that*< or –
 628 *yep* – *that* worked *really* *-well* and *it* would
 629 probably be *^good* – for *-you* to be *able* to
 630 Bea: *ye^ah*¹
 631 Faye: see *-hers.* if *^If* she's *uilling* to
 632 Bea: *^um^* *^ID* *^LI* KE – to do *-that*¹
 633 Faye: *ex-charge.*
 634 Bea: *^yeah^* *^O-K* – *we* can *talk* about
 635 *i,t-*
 636 Faye: *AL* *^RIGHT=*

This supervisor had videotaped all her teachers' role-play lessons and suggested that Bea view that of another (lines 628–629, 631). Notice that she implied that the other teacher could learn something from watching the videotape of this lesson (lines 625–8). The supervisor's strategy seemed to be to help Bea to grow through watching the other's videotape. Still, Faye felt she needed to give attention to Bea's 'face' in making the suggestion. Notice how enthusiastically the teacher responded to her suggestion (line 636) – it gave her a readily acceptable plan of action, an 'out'.

The Role of Data in Supervisors' Conference Strategies

In a comprehensive review of the literature, Holland (1989) discussed the implicit assumptions surrounding supervisory conferences. One aspect of her treatment dealt with assumptions concerning the role of observational data in conferences and another related to the degree of the supervisor's preparation for the ensuing conference. The views cited by Holland included Hunter's (1980) prescription for highly structured conferences, based upon the observational records and Sergiovanni's and Starratt's (1988) opinion that the supervisor should prepare with tentative objectives and processes 'but in a manner that does not program the course of the conference too much' (p. 360). Holland noted that this last view seemed to reflect Cogan's (1973: 197) original position that the supervisor should not completely preplan the course of the conference because it could not be predicted what concerns the teacher would bring. In my role as an ethnographer of supervision, I was interested to see how 'data' were dealt with in the conferences I witnessed.

Faye entered her conference in a highly structured manner by employing a checklist. This was something she thought necessary owing to her perception of the teacher, Bea, as highly 'distractable'. Faye's comments to me were informative:

As soon as I mention a change or a situation, she starts what I call 'arguing', where she'll say, 'But this is what I thought da-da-da-da-da'. By the time she goes through this long explanation of why she did what she did about something, we lose the whole intent and purpose. I do best in my conference with her when I have a guide, like a checklist, because it guides our discussion. Otherwise, time is gone and you haven't gone anywhere with the discussion.

Throughout this conference, Faye worked to keep Bea focused through her use of the checklist as an observation instrument and by referring to it in the dialogue.

Vern and Kendra, the other supervisors, employed different observation techniques and conference processes. Vern talked about his conference strategy with Ed:

[The focus] unfolds somewhat naturally. I never had intended in that science class to see the boy/girl thing going on but it gave me a chance to talk about an issue that's very near and dear to my soul – girls in terms of science instruction. In a post-conference I try to talk about just some of what I would call 'basic teaching act' things that were good – Ed's use of some vocabulary words. And Ed's perceptive. Rather than just say, 'Oh, thank you', he said, 'But can it be too confusing?' So I used the teaching part: If it's a new concept, then to do what he did might muddy the waters, it's a bird walk. My goal was not to strategize about the girls today. My goal was two-fold. Initially, when I first picked that up, my mind was going, 'Oh, this is how it is and this is how it will unfold.' As I said, though, Ed called on about 60 per cent girls. So at that point, I realized that when he questions kids he does a good job of breaking it down boy/girl. That took care of one of my concerns. The second issue was how does he get the girls to be more involved in those situations and discussions. You know, bringing up Carol Gilligan's work out of Harvard was an intellectual way of dealing with it, something he might come to eventually. I talked about the cooperative learning things. My goal today was at the awareness level; it wasn't mastery of a new concept.¹⁰

However, in his conference with Doug, his other teacher, Vern saw the focus as being different:

I wanted to talk with Doug about – I want to use the word more 'global' issues, but that's not the word. I wanted to talk to him about essential classroom management issues and I didn't have to quote him lines. He himself was aware of how many times he had to say to the students, 'Sit down', and those sorts of things.

With him, I retaught the lesson. I did a 'reteach the lesson', and with that – except to generally refer to what he was doing – I don't need to say 'Doug, you said that, then you said this.' I assume that's in his mind. I didn't do any counting in his, you know. One time I did show him the notes. It was because I had drawn a very quick diagram of what the seating arrangement in the class looked like to me.

I took verbatim for the most part, or 'modified verbatim' as I call it.

Vern compared his observation and conference of Ed with those of Doug:

It was the same style of notes [in both observations], but for what I wanted to talk with Doug about, I didn't feel the need to refer to them as much. Ed also tends to sit down. I have the sense he likes the notes there and he likes me pointing things out to him. Doug has not given me that sense of need. I think Doug is more formal by nature.¹¹ Our conference tends to be more formal – our body language and things. I'm sitting there across from him. With Ed, I'm always at the table next to him and we both lean on the table. With Doug, there tends to be a whole different approach going on.

Vern found Ed to be a satisfactory teacher on a number of counts. He calls on the appropriate number of girls in science, and 'Ed's perceptive', he asks questions in conference that raise the level of the discussion. Other considerations may have contributed to Vern's different conference styles, however. He had expressed concerns to me about Doug's English language proficiency, prompted by parental complaints – evidence that Doug was not being accepted by the community of parents as qualified to teach their children. There are definite cultural overtones here. Vern may have felt prohibited from discussing these issues with Doug, and instead may have felt it more acceptable to fault Doug's teaching on the more technical aspects of the job.

Another translation from 'data' to conference came in the interaction between Kendra and Kari. At one point in their conference Kendra began to list the positive behaviors she thought Kari had displayed in the lesson. She had listed these on her data sheet – a single sheet of 'NCR' paper that automatically produces three copies, one of which I kept. What was listed there as 'appropriate reinforcement given to student responses' became lines 161–5 and 167:

Transcript Fragment 2.12

- 160 Kendra: u:m (1.3) °I commented on: u:m (0.3) y-
 161 your- re^laxed -man^ner° (0.7) (ap) propiate
 162 rein^force-ment - you were giv^ing (0.4)
 163 really appropriate reinforcement to -some
 164 >you were saying< that's interes-ting or I
 165 hadn't - thought about that before:
 166 Kari: °uh huh°
 167 Kendra: good idea
 168 Kari: °uh hum:°=
 169 Kendra: =you were doing a lot of -that=

This change from the written to the verbal comment shows changes made in response to the interactional demands of the conference, that is, the context. Kendra didn't mention all of the positive points she had on her list at that time, although she brought up another nearer the end of the conference. In that instance, the written phrase 'good questions' became lines 235-8:

Transcript Fragment 2.13

- 234 Kendra: anyways I ^was- I ^was - >-pleased< and
 235 -your - level of - ^question^ing (0.4) was
 236 -ex^cel-lent - some- ther- 'as: there 'as
 237 some -big ^thin-kin' goin' on in
 238 ^be,re -to ^day
 239 Kari: um ^um^ um -hum

Also note the supervisor's positive global evaluation in line 234 above.

This supervisor departed from her data in other ways. Though she had listed the time (in hours and minutes) along one side of her data sheet, she referred to them in vague terms (e.g. 'about', 'there was one point') or in clearly erroneous terms (line 147):

Transcript Fragment 2.14

- 143 Kendra: and- y- look how ^long the discus.sion
 144 ^went- now this is -my: ^clock
 145 Kari: this is a lo:ng
 146 ti-m:e:
 147 Kendra: ^nine thir^ty no n- I me:an (0.2)
 148 they did ^well - cl^ear up to: -
 149 Kari: yeah^
 150 Kendra: ten fif^teen

Kendra erroneously mentioned the starting time as 9:30 (line 147), when according to the data sheet the discussion began at 9:41. Notice how in this

transcript fragment (lines 145–8), Kendra – as supervisor – quickly sought to repair Kari's misunderstanding of her previous remark. Apparently, Kari took Kendra's 'look how long the discussion went' as an implied criticism and demonstrated her agreement (lines 145 and 146). Kendra seemed anxious that she not be left with that mistaken impression; though erroneous and vague (at least on this point), Kendra was supportive.

Only *after* Kendra had shared her list of positive lesson points with Kari did she turn the floor over to her with a question calling for a global evaluation:

Transcript Fragment 2.15

- 185 Kendra: ^any^way (0.3) u:h – OVER^ALL DID IT ^GO
186 THE WAY YOU WANTED IT ^TO?

Conference Focus

Insight into conference processes is gained through consideration of Ron Scollon's (1981b) notion of 'focus' in talk. Scollon writes of a continuum of focus, dependent on the 'amount of negotiation possible among the participants about the nature of the situation' (p. 17). For Scollon, focus has three variables that limit negotiation among participants: time restrictions, the number of participants and the medium of communication. I include 'agenda' as a variant of the medium of communication. Agenda as an aspect of focus has to do with the supervisors' concerns, how they intend to approach the conference (their amount of planning, organization or structure) and what they hope to accomplish in the conference.

Since these conferences were dyadic, that variable is constant. The time restrictions on these conferences differed, as did the media of communication, when thought of as the supervisors' agenda. Faye entered her conference with Bea with a strong agenda. She intended to keep Bea focused and on task through her use of a checksheet. This conference was under a moderate time restriction, but Bea eased that by negotiating more time with the teacher monitoring her class on the playground. Kendra had assumed that she and Kari were to have had a whole planning period for their conference; it was not until students began coming into the classroom that Kendra realized that this assumption was mistaken. Also, Kendra's agenda was relatively weak because it was so near the end of the school year and she already knew Kari would be returning the next year.

The differential effects of agenda are illuminated through comparison of Vern's two conferences. Vern had accepted Ed and vice versa. They had each contributed to a mutually constructed perception of themselves as competent educators. Their conference reinforced this. Lacking a strong agenda, and with a relatively weak time restriction because the students were there in front of them doing seatwork, their conference tended to be more of a discussion

among co-equals and more rambling, less focused. However, Vern had already sensed that Doug was not going to be accepted by significant others in his situation and had developed 'global' concerns – 'essential classroom management issues', he had said. His agenda was stronger in his conference with Doug and he exerted much more control.

Summary and Discussion

I have demonstrated some of the processes supervisors use to exert control over conference direction and over teachers while in conference. Supervisors did this in several ways:

- 1 control of the floor during the supervisor report phase;
- 2 topic selection during this phase, and its continued relevance during the teacher response phase;
- 3 supervisor questions; and
- 4 supervisor ownership of and presentation of data.

Supervisor initiation of the conference, the chronological presentation of the data, and the complementary introduction of topics have ramifications for what gets discussed and who introduces topics, that is, who 'controls' the conference. Because of the usual linear progression of conference topics, teachers seldom have an opportunity to introduce topics of *their* concern. One can easily imagine a scenario whereby the conference time runs out before the teacher gets a free turn at the floor, one that isn't a response to supervisor-initiated topics. This chronological discussion of data may, then, be impositional on the teacher's time and may very well limit what gets discussed; it may, in fact, severely limit teacher reflection.

I have also presented several moderating influences on supervisor control. These included:

- 1 supervisors themselves mitigating their suggestions or criticisms through the use of 'I' statements¹² and modal auxiliaries;
- 2 supervisors attending to the teacher's 'face' needs; and
- 3 conference contexts, including conference focuses, when seen as being interpersonally constructed and negotiated throughout the conference.

The influence these phenomena have on teacher reflection and growth is still unresolved at this point.

One implication of this study is readily apparent. 'Collegial' relations between supervisor and teacher are highly problematic, though perhaps not impossible. Supervisors who take the lead in the presentation and analysis of observational data severely limit the teacher's potential for participation, reflection and growth. This is a reflection of the technical control other authors

have discussed (Retallick 1986; St Maurice 1987). This interpretation seems to lend support both to Smyth's (1991a) position that a power differential is endemic to supervisor-teacher relations and to Retallick's (1990) view that such differences are reproduced in conference discourse. Though it would seem that there is a propensity for such unbalanced power relationships, that such is often the case, I suggest that it *does not have to be so*; it is much more complicated than these authors suggest. I have shown that teachers have resources with which they may counteract a supervisor's hegemony. (These points will be discussed at length in Chapters 3 and 4.) Supervisors themselves do not always baldly exert control in face-to-face encounters with teachers; the interactions of Kendra with Kari, and Vern with Ed support this contention. Variables other than power also affect the processes and outcomes of supervisory conferences.

Glickman (1990) has written of supervisory behaviors as being non-directive, collaborative, directive-informational or directive-control. What is clear from this study is that the most uncommon of these behaviors is the non-directive supervisory behavior, possibly because is the most difficult to practice – even given the best of supervisor intentions. It also seems difficult to achieve a truly collaborative conference or relationship. Complications arise from the structures of 'normal' conferences and the behaviors that result from the participants' role perceptions and expectations. In order to effect a change in conferences and thereby teacher participation and reflection, it would be necessary for practitioners of supervision to be aware of these phenomena so that they might counteract their negative effects. Supervisors interested in accentuating their own non-directive or collaborative behaviors would do well to practice them in supervision classes and in the field. This would be facilitated if professors of supervision encouraged extended practice of these behaviors and reflection on them in class, even before their students meet their first teacher face to face. This alone would necessitate professors reconstructing their own roles and values concerning the relation of 'intellectual knowledge' and 'practical knowledge'.

Though I have discussed how data were used in conference, I have not addressed what role data *should* play. What are the alternatives? To this question, I have no ready answer. I would like to suggest that answers to this and related questions may be sought in the orientations of the participants to supervision, especially that of the supervisor. How supervisors conceive of their role will determine to what extent they perceive themselves to be arms of the organization or, when organizational and individual goals are incongruent, to what extent they are concerned with fostering, or empowering, individual teachers' growth apart from, or in opposition to, organizational goals. Agenda and data play a strong role here. Supervisors would do well to consider these questions seriously.

For both supervision practitioners and theorists these questions could be addressed through further qualitative, constructivist research, research in which supervisors and teachers take part. Such efforts would imbue the contexts of

supervision with norms that favor learning on the part of all the schools' participants – students, teachers, supervisors and quite possibly administrators. It would resurrect supervision as it was envisioned by Cogan and Goldhammer, and likely resolve the criticisms of current practice as voiced by authors such as Garman, Retallick, Smyth and myself.

As has been shown in this chapter, and perhaps confirming uninformed assumptions, supervisors influence the trajectory of supervisory conferences. As will be shown in the next two chapters, however, this is only half the story. The next two chapters detail how it is that teachers come to influence (i.e. to exert control on) conferences also.

Notes

- 1 Notable departures from the received paradigm include Garman (1990), Holland (1990), and McCoombe (1984).
- 2 I imagine that such a view makes conference research much more manageable.
- 3 Please refer to the Appendix for complete conference transcripts. I employ the original line numbers in the transcript fragments I extract for discussion and illustration. This should allow the interested reader the opportunity to refer to the complete transcript and thereby gain more of the context and overall sense of the trajectory of the conference.
- 4 Further discussion of conference phases is found in Waite (1990/91).
- 5 From my observations I have come to believe that this chronological reporting of the data is a result of the type of observation instrument used and the data gathered. When supervisors used a technique such as script-taping (Hunter 1983) or selective verbatim (Acheson and Gall 1992), in fact *any* instrument that collected data in such a linear fashion as a time line, the conference usually proceeded linearly as well. Such linear reporting may serve to disenfranchise a teacher, as will be shown shortly.
- 6 This conference between Faye and Bea is fully examined in Chapter 4, where the interpretation given is that it is an exemplar of teacher resistance.
- 7 Ramifications of supervisory control of topics – even though conferences are co-constructed – and the stifling of teachers' voices is discussed in Chapter 6, and represented schematically in Figure 6.1.
- 8 This is one reason I advise my supervision students to try not to begin with a question – especially one calling for a global assessment – as an opening gambit, because it really just delays the eventual. Ron and Susane Scollon (1986) encourage one to give information, if at all possible, in place of asking questions, because questions do a lot more interactional work than just obtaining information. Questions establish relationships – some power-laden – and can carry implied (or inferred) criticism, and so on. Besides, if a supervisor pauses adequately and appropriately after giving his or her information, the teacher can respond to the information if she or he wants, in a way she or he wants, and is much less encumbered than when the teacher answers a question.
- 9 Here I must beg the reader's indulgence, as there is no similar phenomenon in English other than that presented to make my case. Older dialect forms of English, of course, employed 'thou' and 'thee' to make such distinctions.
- 10 The alert reader will have noticed that Vern had been heavily trained in the Madeline Hunter model of teaching and supervision, hence such terms as 'bird walk', and his explicit attempt to praise Ed for those things he felt he had done well.

- 11 Recall that Doug was a relatively recent Vietnamese immigrant and Ed was a Chinese-Hawaiian, that is, a second or third generation US citizen.
- 12 Fairclough (1989: 15) wrote that the 'use of "we" can be manipulative; it can claim a spurious solidarity, for instance when a politician uses it to convince people that she is "one of them"'. Though this is a distinct possibility, and one of which supervisors should be aware, my interpretation of this corpus did not support such a conclusion and I would be irresponsible if I were to allege that these supervisors were so motivated.

Teachers' in Conference

The previous chapters have hinted at the voluminous nature of the literature of instructional supervision. What those chapters did not show, however, is how most, if not all, of this literature is theoretical, prescriptive, or both. Other than the occasional doctoral dissertation, supervision has not had the benefit of much inductive, empirical research of its lived, phenomenological processes. What little research done to date on the interactive processes of supervision, particularly the supervisory conference, has relied upon a priori coding schemes and categories (e.g. Weller 1971; Blumberg 1980). Often such protocols are simply adaptations of classroom observation instruments, not specifically designed for supervisory conferences (Zeichner and Liston 1985: 157). Other research on interactive supervisory conference processes examines either actors' simulations (e.g. Pajak and Glickman 1989) or commercially-produced training videos (e.g. Rivers 1989).

Weller's (1971) early call for research on the processes of supervision has been echoed by others (Zeichner and Liston 1985; Holland, 1989; Pajak and Glickman 1989). Zeichner and Liston state, for example:

Given the ascribed importance of supervisory conferences to the processes of formal teacher education, one finds it ironic that so little attention has been given to understanding the quality of what transpires during these encounters . . . [T]he amount of resources which are typically allocated to the conduct of supervision . . . necessitates a closer examination of the use of these resources. (1985: 171)

Holland (1989) and Pajak and Glickman (1989) are quite specific in defining the needs for inquiry in the field of supervision. Holland calls for 'qualitative methods such as discourse analysis to explore the interpretive aspects of the supervisory conference', suggesting that such methods could provide 'a new understanding of a dimension of conferencing often cited in the theoretical literature but as yet not researched in any thorough, systematic way' (1989: 378). In light of their research using simulated supervisory conferences, Pajak and Glickman (1989: 103) conclude that '[e]thnographic studies of teacher-supervisor interactions in actual school settings would be very enlightening'.

Although such attention to supervision and supervisory conferences has shown a noticeable increase (e.g. Smyth 1984, 1991b; Holland 1990; Retallick

1990, Waite 1990/1991, 1992b, 1992c) efforts aimed at understanding supervision and supervisory conferences have given little attention to the role *teachers* play in the process. Notable exceptions include the work of Zeichner and Liston (1985), Zeichner and Tabachnick (1985) and McCoombe's (1984) teacher's view of clinical supervision. However, while these studies contribute to our overall understanding of supervision, it is my contention that these studies are lacking in certain important aspects. Zeichner and Liston's study aggregates teachers' data for statistical analysis and, by definition, cannot portray any one case in depth. The work of Zeichner and Tabachnick presents a more 'macro',¹ or coarse-grained, understanding of teachers' attitudes, strategies, perceptions and their relative change or stability over time, neglecting the 'micro', fine-grained interactional particulars of how those processes come about or are instantiated. The same can be said of McCoombe's study, where his subjective recollections generally gloss the more 'micro', or interactive, processes required for a close examination of supervisor-teacher interaction.

As implied above, 'coarse-grained' or 'macro', studies and analyses represent only half the picture. Therefore rather than seeking to replace 'coarse-grained' research, the studies reported in this volume, and studies like them in the 'fine-grained' mode, complement such research (Erickson 1992). Close examination of the *interactive processes* between teacher and supervisor ought to yield a fuller understanding of supervision and teachers' roles in the process. Studies of this type ought to inform our understanding, design and implementation of programs of supervision, mentoring and peer coaching. Such projects are especially timely in this, the era of educational reform. An understanding of how supervision is interactionally achieved should empower those involved to change what they feel needs to be changed and keep that which is worth keeping in the supervision of teachers. As the literature of teacher socialization is replete with studies of first-year teachers (e.g. Edgar and Warren 1969; Hoy and Rees 1977; Lacey 1977; Zeichner and Tabachnick 1985; Etheridge 1989), perhaps it is not too much to expect that studies of the type reported here might also inform our notions of that critical phase in teachers' work lives. Though generalization is always problematic from studies such as these, there is reason to believe that the reader may find that much of what is discussed here has relevance for his or her practice and situation (Firestone 1993).

The discussion in this chapter draws on data from a larger study (Waite 1990/1991) that investigated how participants in the supervisory process, teachers *and* supervisors, view and enact supervision. The participants in this study include those same three supervisors introduced in Chapter 2, and those same beginning teachers.

Fieldwork

To understand what it means to 'do supervision' – and to understand each participant's part in and perception of the process – I held three interviews

with each supervisor and shadowed them as they interacted with teachers. Informal ethnographic interviews (Agar 1980) were held with the teachers involved. Only the interviews with Ed were taperecorded and transcribed, the others were recorded in fieldnote form.

The observation techniques I used ranged from non-participant observation (while in the schools) to participant observation (while in university environs). I accompanied each supervisor on at least one classroom visit and met with the teachers at their schools, in their district seminars and/or during the monthly, day-long total university program seminars, which were often held at the participating schools.

In total, five teacher-supervisor conferences were recorded, transcribed and analyzed. These conferences are the same that informed the analysis in the preceding chapter (and which can be found in their entirety in the Appendix). Conference tapes were transcribed using a conversation analysis transcript notation protocol (see Figure 2.1), excerpts of which will provide the basis of the discussion to follow. The observations and the interviews (both formal and informal) will be treated as secondary material – meant to explicate understanding of the conference talk. The transcription process, and the close examination of the conversational processes it captured and later revealed, added a dimension to my understanding of supervisory conferences which would have been unavailable through casual observation, interviewing and reflection.

General Conference Characteristics

I distinguish three types of teachers' roles that occurred in supervisory conferences: passive, collaborative and adversarial.² By this, I do not wish to be taken to mean that teachers steadfastly held to a particular role exclusively throughout their conference. In fact, most of the teachers studied exhibited characteristics of each of these roles at various times during conferences. 'Role', in the sense I use it here, is a more holistic representation, a gestalt, meant to characterize the *general* nature of the teacher's behaviors in the conference when taken as a whole.

Previous researchers of teacher socialization (Lacey 1977; Zeichner and Tabachnick 1985) have identified the teacher social strategies of internalized adjustment, strategic compliance and strategic redefinition. Zeichner and Tabachnick made a distinction between successful and unsuccessful strategic redefinition strategies. The teacher conference roles identified in the present study are roughly equivalent to those cited above, but with some minor qualifications.

Generally speaking, the social strategy of internalized adjustment corresponds with the passive teacher conference role. As will be shown in the following discussion, the passive conference role correlates with a relatively strong supervisory agenda, and with the teacher enacting this role offering

little or no resistance. Rather, he or she accepts both the supervisor's authority and suggestions, attempting to align his or her teaching with the supervisor's beliefs.

The collaborative teacher conference role, as envisioned here, includes both the strategies of strategic compliance *and* that of *successful* strategic redefinition. As will be shown, the collaborative conference role correlates with a much weaker supervisory agenda and allows the teachers enacting this conference role more determination in deciding to which of the supervisor's interpretations and suggestions they respond and how they do so. If the teacher only appears to accept the supervisor and her or his suggestions this qualifies as Lacey's (1977) strategic compliance. If the teacher is actually able to effect changes in the situation or the supervisor's understanding of the situation this qualifies as strategic redefinition in Lacey's terms or successful strategic redefinition in Zeichner and Tabachnick's (1985).

The social strategy of unsuccessful strategic redefinition parallels the adversarial teacher conference role. When both teacher and supervisor bring strong agendas to the conference and the teacher does not capitulate, the teacher may enact the adversarial conference role as described below in detail. (This particular 'role' will be treated to an alternative interpretation in Chapter 4 and examined there as a form of teacher resistance.)

In order to understand teachers' roles as conference participants one must have an understanding of the structure of the typical conference, that is, a conference's participant structures (Phillips 1972). One form of such participant structures, though perhaps not the only one, is the conference phase. Chapter 2 includes a thorough discussion of three conference phases: the supervisor's report phase, the teacher's response phase and the programmatic phase. Conference participants interactionally construct these important contexts of/for their interaction, and being interactionally constructed, the conference phases reflexively influence participants' actions.

Teachers and Their Conference Roles

Doug, Enacting a Passive Conference Role

Generally, Doug's role was that of a passive participant in his conferences with Vern. This conference role would be consistent with Lacey's (1977) teacher social strategy of internalized adjustment, where the teacher accepts the authority figure's definition of the situation. Doug tended to accept what his supervisor said during the report phase with acknowledgment but without much other comment. This was true even when the supervisor criticized his teaching in either a direct or an indirect manner. The teacher's remarks from the following conference segment are evidence of this behavior (lines 150, 155, 157, 162, 169 and 180):

Transcript Fragment 3.1

- 142 Vern: h um - but - once ^again - if you were
 143 going to have them up there, you might've -
 144 >taken a more< productive role in seating
 145 them. (0.8) I don't know if y- a boy ^girl
 146 boy ^girl pat^tern. It be better, or the
 147 ones who you know are going to interact
 148 ^here - h you do that. It's like a seating
 149 chart=
 150 Doug: =um hum um hum yeah
 151 Vern: you know? AND - u:m - u:m
 152 (1.0) I^ did it with ninth graders - so the
 153 likelihood that you'd have to do it with
 154 first graders - would be great.
 155 Doug: um hum
 156 Vern: OK?
 157 Doug: yeah - that would be a good ^idea hhh
 158 Vern: WHAT - WHATCHU' NEE^:D is to - expand the
 159 repertoire - of skills - that you can ^use -
 160 to - ensure classroom management. And
 161 whatchu b_ ad going on: - up ^front - was
 162 Doug: um hum
 163 Vern: less than productive classroom management -
 164 because there were - a number of times -
 165 >you had to go< - Tim (0.8) >you know< -
 166 Zack - um: m-m-m >you know< what^ever the
 167 names -were -: - or wha- whatever u- w-
 168 you ha d to go on with
 169 Doug: um:
 170 Vern: that - a few times h so that w- would be of
 171 something - you really need to focus on. h
 172 the second thing - that - I would mention
 173 here is is (3.0) ^and in an art lesson - I
 174 might add there- - there isn't - an easy way
 175 of doing this, h - but it's something for
 176 you to think about.° (0.8) U::M (2.3) THE
 177 OL::D >we've talked about this before< the
 178 ^ok::d (0.7) never give more than three
 179 directions to k- anybody at one time=
 180 Doug: =um hum=

This was the teacher's behavior exhibited during the supervisor's report phase. Even when the ownership of a conference phase shifted to the teacher - during the teacher response phase or the programmatic phase, for instance - Doug remained passive. He did respond to the issues or topics raised by Vern,

but never in a collaborative or adversarial manner (compare this teacher's behavior with those to follow).

The following fragment is taken from the beginning of this teacher's first response phase. Note Doug's responses in Transcript Fragment 3.2 at lines 592 and 594. Vern, the supervisor, took the floor from Doug (lines 588-91) with raised voice and by talking through Doug's simultaneous utterances, in effect, competing with Doug for the floor and employing the two escalation techniques noted above. The combination of these floor-gaining techniques along with the differential supervisor status or power are too much for Doug in this instance. Vern then uses his control of the floor to issue a negative evaluation of Doug's teaching and provides alternatives for how the teacher might have taught the lesson. This brings that particular teacher response phase to a close. Doug lapses back into an acknowledging mode, conceding the floor to the supervisor who initiates another supervisor report phase. The teacher then punctuates the supervisor's comments with 'uh huh's.

Transcript Fragment 3.2

- 564 (1.7)
 565 Doug: uh I see i t as s-s- yeah, we've been using
 566 Vern: other-
 567 Doug: them (0.6) some kind of a- - left it off
 568 right now but we've been using the a-
 569 beanstalk - about Jack and the beanstalk
 570 Vern: OH, OK I
 571 didn't - I didn't see that
 572 Doug: and they - are there
 573 for the (0.3) behavior.=
 574 Vern: =uh huh
 575 Doug: and it's ^been - been -working: (0.6) -kind
 576 of ^well - I think it's the last - week -
 577 some of them bad - for those who - climb up
 578 the air on the castle - they ()
 579 Vern: OH - I DID - I did
 580 notice that last time I was -in.=
 581 Doug: =uh huh yeah so they a- - they - they had
 582 lunch with me. Also so I - they have some -
 583 ^cou-pons - trading for - thing and for -
 584 good things an- -h and they work well, but
 585 Vern: an-
 586 Doug: today I didn't use it much
 587 yeah right not a s much as I-
 588 Vern: hh yeah I ^see SO - THERE
 589 WAS ^A h THERE WAS A ^TRI CKT - you bad in
 590 Doug: I thought
 591 Vern: your -bag - that you didn't pull out.

- 592 Doug: uh huh
 593 Vern: *Maybe*¹ you *could've* – at *times*.
 594 Doug: uh huh

Particularly relevant to the issue under discussion are lines 588 and 589, 591 and 593 of Transcript Fragment 3.2. These data illustrate how the supervisor, Vern, reworked Doug's assertion that he had been using behavior management techniques to good effect ('it's been working kind of well', lines 575 and 576, 'and they work well', line 584). Vern reinterpreted the teacher's remarks. He stressed that Doug did have 'tricks' at his disposal, that he didn't use them, but that he could have. Note how forcefully Vern asserted his interpretation – shown by raised voice (lines 588 and 589). A rationale for attributing passivity to this teacher's conference behavior comes from a synthesis of the ethnographic and conversational data (see below). One of the outcomes of this conference was that the supervisor was able to define this teacher as a novice, and the teacher did not refute that notion successfully; the supervisor's definition became the accepted definition.

In his conference with Doug, Vern worked to establish his definition of the situation. He continually compared Doug with his supervising teacher, Lynne, and insisted that Doug needed more behavior management 'tricks' in his repertoire.

Transcript Fragment 3.3

- 435 Vern: so *THAT's* (0.6) >you know *where* you're gonna
 436 go< (0.4) >*one* of the *things* I just
 437 *mentioned* to< Lynne: – is to *WORK* with you –
 438 on *expanding* that *bag* of *refinement* and
 439 *organizational* t- (0.7) *tricks*: – or
 440 *tech,niques*, -h u-um you *used to-day*; a

Or later:

Transcript Fragment 3.4

- 533 Vern: *everybody* has their: *tricks*, they're
 534 -called behavior *modi,f^cation* ^*tri cks* –
 535 Doug: um hum um hum¹
 536 Vern: and mister *O'Riley's* -not ^*real* ^*big* ^on
 537 ^*them* but – you know if if – *that's* ^*what's*
 538 gonna ^*work* – in *those* situations, *that* ^*is*:
 539 – to *help* you *expand* that *bag* of *tricks*.
 540 Doug: um hum
 541 Vern: *Lynne* has a *very* small *bag* of *tricks* she
 542 *uses* 'cause *she* doesn't *need* to *use* ^*many*.
 543 -h *Newer* teachers – *have* to have a *bigger*
 544 *bag* of *tricks*, – and *unfortunately* they
 545 *often* don't *have* -it – and *Lynne's* the *one*
 546 that ^*has* -it but you *never* see -it.

- 547 Doug: um hum |um hum
 548 Vern: >becaus 'e *she* doesn't *have* to *pull*
 549 it *out*< h but the uh- >*newer* teachers *don't*
 550 have *it* but *they're* the *ones* who *need* it
 551 *because* y- you're *still*< (0.5) *trying* to
 552 (0.5) *play* around and *get that* right *match*:
 553 for -you,
 554 Doug: °um hum°=
 555 Vern: =with the - *kids* - so that it *mo-ves* - as
 556 *smoothly* and as *quickly* as it *does*, - as it
 557 *would* when °you're a *seventh* or *tenth* year
 558 teacher°=
 559 Doug: =uh huh - yeah (1.2) °um°
 560 Vern: I was *out* on-n *one* of my *lecture*: - ty- s- s-
 561 *things*, (seems we) haven't *done* so much of a
 562 *discussion*. Di- l- - you- are there
 563 *anything*?
 564 (1.7)

The above portion of the conference transcript reveals a number of moves relevant to the present discussion. Here the supervisor explained what he felt to be a difference in the management needs of beginning and experienced teachers. He implied that Doug was such a teacher (lines 549-553) and therefore in need of an expanded 'bag of tricks' - that is, that those he did have and demonstrated were inadequate. Illustrative of this move is the pronominal shift Vern employs, from talk about newer teachers, 'they', to Doug, 'you' (lines 550-1).

This conference transcript portion ends with Vern's meta-linguistic analysis of the tenor of the conference, and a question that served to close the supervisor report phase and begin the teacher response phase. Doug then responded to Vern's assertions by mentioning those 'behavior management tricks' he had, in fact, used and his estimation of their success. A teacher response phase, where Doug responded to Vern's assertions and evaluations, was interjected between the end of the previous segment (Transcript Fragment 3.2) and the beginning of the following:

Transcript Fragment 3.5

- 595 Vern: you *did* towards the *en:d* - *once* - -*quiet*
 596 them -*dou:n*, and *say*: - >you know< -
 597 *something* >you *looked* at the *clock*< you
 598 ^*looked* impatient, I mean you ^*looked* -
 599 *frustrated*, and then -h >you know< you *said*
 600 - a - *made* some *comment* that *we* weren't- -
 601 you weren't *going* to *mo-* ^*go* ^*anyplace* 'til
 602 they *had don:e* this, so- I *don't* know *how*

- 603 you *put it* but -h *but* >you know< and *then*
 604 that *quieted* 'em for a second -h AND
 605 Doug: °um hum^o
 606 Vern: YOU' ALSO *dismissed* 'em *back* - by ^*rows*
 607 again, (0.2) *to-day* - >you know< you w-were
 608 *working* on *things* like m-m- *smoother*
 609 ^*move-ment* °from one *place* to *another*
 610 so; *those* were *so* me^o
 611 Doug: um hum um humⁱ
 612 (1.8)
 613 Doug: yeah - *basically* they - ^they ^*do* - tend to
 614 *responds*- uh - *respond* to *me* - *more* (0.9)
 615 °kind of uh - *immediately* an-°
 616 Vern: um hum
 617 Doug: *more* effectively than *before* - °*because* of
 618 uh they just *before* sometime *just* - *they*
 619 *just keep*-° - *kept* talking an-
 620 Vern: yeah
 621 Doug: °while I was-° - -h *but* *now* when they're
 622 *asked* for their *attention* (t- it the-) - um-
 623 *most* of *them* will give *it* right - just
 624 like *that*. (0.7) So I can see *that* - or I
 625 can *pro-ve* that. *I'm* still working on *it*.
 626 hhh ((laughs)) You *see* it *again*. I don't
 627 know ^*how* -*well* - I try to *see* how *well*
 628 they can - *bear* *me* - *back* *there* (0.3) just
 629 *because* *they*- - *they* chose *not* to *respond* or
 630 *because* they didn't *bear* *me* - °very well -
 631 (most important to my-*i*)^o
 632 Vern: *now* *you're*ⁱ talking about back
 633 *where*?
 634 Doug: I mean *when-ever* I say (0.5) in *their*: - *at*
 635 *their* *chair* - *at* their *seat* or (0.8)
 636 Vern: -h [THEY COULD- ^TH: EY CAN HEAR -YOU.
 637 Doug: on the (counter)ⁱ
 638 (0.5)
 639 Vern: °yeah° -h I don't *think* - *bear*ing's:
 640 Doug: yeahⁱ
 641 that hh - yeah
 642 Vern: an *issue*. *Unless* there's- - would (*it*) be *a*
 643 *lot* of *other* -*noise* around=
 644 Doug: =um hum

The lengths of the various turns at the floor throughout the exchange cited (Transcript Fragments 3.2 and 3.5) are also indicative of the roles enacted by

teacher and supervisor, and their relations. The teacher's turns were considerably longer at the beginning, until the supervisor made his assertion/evaluation. What may be seen as an attempt at praising the teacher begins at line 595 and continues through line 610. The teacher resumed his acknowledging posture for these supervisor turns at the floor. Basically, the supervisor's evaluation stands as stated to this point.

What follows is a pause of 1.8 seconds (line 612), which marked the boundary of the previous supervisor report. Doug resumed his response, again attempting to build the case for the effectiveness of his classroom management strategies. He stated this relatively forcefully at lines 624 and 625 with 'so I can see that or I can prove that'.

However, Vern, the supervisor, retrieved and asked a question for clarification about something Doug had made passing mention of – whether the children couldn't hear him or simply chose not to respond. By posing a question in eliciting the clarification (lines 632 and 633), Vern effectively shifted the topic to the students' ability to hear. He chose what to retrieve from the prior teacher turn, and posing it as a question made an answer situationally relevant (Sacks *et al.* 1978). Responding in this way, the supervisor did not address again the issue of the effectiveness of the teacher's classroom management. Doug's passivity, in this instance, allowed the supervisor's definition of him as a novice in need of an expanded repertoire of behavior management 'tricks' to stand.

Even in the programmatic phase, the second phase to which I have ascribed teacher ownership, Doug remained passive. (The boundary marking the end of the previous phase and the beginning of the programmatic phase is Doug's 'uh huh, good', Transcript Fragment 3.6, line 693, followed by Vern's 'so', line 692, preceding a 2.7 second pause.) It is notable that in the beginning of this phase Doug actually turned the floor over to Vern, the supervisor, with a question (line 695), to which Vern responded with programmatic information; other 'safe' topics were brought up and discussed, including that night's mock interviews for Vern's group of teachers and Doug's summer graduate registration.

Transcript Fragment 3.6

- 680 Vern: =_iobviously *h* and so: – when you have a:
681 Doug: that's true¹
682 Vern: series of ^instruc-tions, if you – >break it
683 in pieces< then you have active
684 participation in *between* those pieces, –
685 there's two ^ways of getting kids actively
686 inVOLVED >one 's to< *h* be – fore
687 Doug: uh huh
688 Vern: ((sound of paper rustling)) all discussion,
689 turn to your neigh-bor share with your
690 neigh-bor, – say it in unison. *h* >That type

- 691 of thing< The other is that –
 692 manipulative part °so°
 693 Doug: uh huh g'ood uh huh
 694 (2.7)
 695 Doug ^O-K – is there anyth ing? (0.9)
 696 Vern: °okay?° I ^don't
 697 think ^SO. I- I h I know that – um – ^I
 698 just having a: – little bit of a discussion
 699 the other ^day: – with He-len: – and Lyn-ne:
 700 – an:d – ^Molly – an:d ^KE:N – all met
 701 (0.3) and I think what they – talked about
 702 and arranged was fer: – between now and the
 703 – end o' the ^year: – and – I – think – that
 704 >Lynne probably< shared with you (0.2) what-
 705 – they're going to do is – >she's coming in
 706 NOW< to teach the LOGO part,
 707 Doug: uh huh

Doug's passive conference role behavior may be due, in large part, to his biography. The fact that he had only recently immigrated to the US from Vietnam meant that he was still adjusting to American culture and language, as should be obvious from a close reading of the transcripts. Bourdieu's (1986: 243) concept of cultural capital effectively explains Doug's predicament, especially the form of such capital which Bourdieu believes exists in the embodied state:

The accumulation of cultural capital in the embodied state . . . which, insofar as it implies a labor of inculcation and assimilation, costs time, time which must be invested personally by the investor (1986: 244).

Doug was at a loss as to how to advance his interests assertively. Compared with the other teachers discussed in this report, Doug had fewer culturally-appropriate conversational strategies by which he may have made his case – constellations of which Hymes (1972: xxxvi) refers to as communicative competence. Also, Doug was an immigrant, in Bauman's (1988/89) terms, 'a stranger', and as such had little capital upon which to draw in this situation, be it economic, social or cultural capital. As Bauman points out, there are few repercussions for sanctioning a stranger. He or she has fewer resources upon which to draw in his or her defense. Doug could not appeal to higher-ups nor assert any other pressure on his supervisor. When Vern started to hear parents' complaints about Doug's appropriateness as a model for their first graders, this, coupled with his concerns as a personnel officer about the costs and benefits of working with Doug intensively for at least another year before his skills were acceptable led to the decision not to renew Doug's contract. The cultural capital Doug did have was not prized in this situation; it was not

prized by his first-grade students (he didn't have the 'appropriate' behavior modification tricks to get them to respond to him), nor by his supervising teacher, nor by his students' parents, and, finally, his cultural capital was not valued by his supervisor. He was let go.

The irony here is that Doug was more than willing to incorporate Vern's suggestions. He simply could not progress far enough fast enough to suit the supervisor and his constituents. This raises serious questions for supervision.

Kari and Ed, Enacting Collaborative Conference Roles

Both Kari and Ed were highly collaborative in their conferences with their respective supervisors, Kendra and Vern. At the beginning of her post-observation conference, Kari demonstrated acceptance of Kendra's role (note lines 3 and 6) during the supervisor's report phase:

Transcript Fragment 3.7

- 1 Kendra: I just took -down ^all kinds of stuff ^here
- 2 ((excited voice)) (0.3) u:m
- 3 Kari: ok'ay
- 4 Kendra: I first I started doing a little break-down
- 5 of ti:me - for -you.
- 6 Kari: °um ^hum°

In line 1 above, Kendra reports that she has taken 'all kinds' of data and Kari demonstrates her positive orientation to that fact (line 3), implying she accepts it as Kendra's role to report upon the lesson. Also, after Kendra reports how she had gathered the data (line 4 and 5), Kari's use of an acknowledgment token in her next turn may be seen as meant to encourage Kendra to continue. The fact that Kari assented to how Kendra enacted her role suggests that, for these two, their conference roles and role expectations of the other were unproblematic.

An example of the extraordinary collaboration exhibited between Kari and Kendra followed (note lines 26 and 27):

Transcript Fragment 3.8

- 11 (3.4)
- 12 Kendra: then - when you got into your -dis^cussion
- 13 (0.5) I started ^counting the - different -
- 14 stu-dents >look at -this< (1.0) five >ten
- 15 fifteen twenty< twenty five - twenty se-ven
- 16 - you called on - tw:enty s even (0.2)
- 17 Kari: >^good<
- 18 Kendra: different kids
- 19 Kari: just about - -every^body

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- 20 Kendra: *that's -just ^about -every ^body >except for*
 21 *the -ones that wouldn't 'ave respon ded*
 22 Kari: *>great<|*
 23 Kendra: *^anyway I mean< -hh you took a ^little*
 24 *stretch - break (0.8) um (0.4) HOW DIDCHU|*
 25 *FEEL about the - discus-sion - ^af-ter -*
 26 *the (0.2) stretch ^break*
 27 Kari: *stretch ^break|*
 28 *(1.2)*

Here Kari supplied the proper term to end Kendra's turn (note that the voicing is exactly the same). This shows Kari's orientation to the construction of the turn and its trajectory, and results from her active listening. Though Kendra had mentioned the term 'stretch break' previously (line 24), the fact that Kari can supply the same term, at the same time, and in exactly the same intonation demonstrates both a remarkable collaboration and, quite possibly, a shared orientation to the stretch break as a trouble spot in the lesson.

Kari also demonstrated that she shared an orientation with her supervisor on each other's observation and conference rights, responsibilities and roles at other times in their conferences (Waite 1990/1991). Note, however, that it was Kari who terminated both their pre-observation and post-observation conferences. She did this by addressing her remarks to students entering the classroom, terminating her teacher's response phase:

Transcript Fragment 3.9 (from pre-observation conference)

- 38 *(0.8)*
 39 Kari: *and so these are just some some uh ^these*
 40 *are my ^brain-storm^ing*
 41 *ques-tions that |I've-*
 42 Kendra: *sure | s ure |*
 43 Kari: *^hey: WELCOME TO CLASS - BUDDY ((to student*
 44 *entering)) (2.1) ((breathy, quiet laugh))*

and

Transcript Fragment 3.10 (from post-observation conference)

- 222 Kari: *um hum*
 223 Kendra: *>it was like< just ^be-cause there're only*
 224 *-eight ^days of school -left:*
 225 Kari: *-um ^hum*
 226 Kendra: *I still expect you to |lis^ten -an-*
 227 Kari: *oh ^yeah| ^oh*
 228 *^yeah WE'RE PUSHING TH IS ^STORY TO THE*
 229 Kendra: *attend |*

- 230 Kari: LA:S;T: ^WE:DNES:-DAY:
 231 Kendra: >YOU'RE GONNA GET< THIS WEDNES'DAY?
 232 Kari: ((laughs))
 233 ((student in background: Oh -No))
 234 Kendra: anyways . . . ((the conference soon ends))

Neither of Kari's conferences had a programmatic phase. Such an absence may be due to the time constraints occasioned by holding her conferences between the classes of her middle school schedule, because she saw no need for a programmatic discussion, or because students exerted more influence on her in this situation than her supervisor did.

The same remarkable degree of collaboration shown between Kari and Kendra was evident with Ed and his supervisor, Vern (who was also Doug's supervisor). Evidence of such collaboration comes from near the end of their conference transcript, when Ed and Vern have included me in their talk and have begun recounting Ed's early days with the program:

Transcript Fragment 3.11

- 1065 Vern: and - and you *do*: - I mean you - *really*
 1066 (0.2) I *remember* when you *first* came in *last*
 1067 *-August*, *last fall* - or (when it stopped)
 1068 *everything* - you know - it - was just-
 1069 s₁hh shh
 1070 Ed: just i't ((laughs))
 1071 Vern: and *we* would - *then* say - *mellow* - ^OUT -
 1072 -Ed.
 1073 Ed: hhhh but I'm *still* like *that* - but not
 1074 jas:
 1075 Vern: yeah!
 1076 (1.8)

This conference took place at the front of the classroom, while the fifth-grade students did seatwork. Note lines 1069 and 1070 above. Vern and Ed together collaborated in voicing the phrase 'just shit' - a phrase either would have been prohibited from voicing individually in such a setting. There was also much humor evident in both this conference and that between Kari and Kendra.

Other evidence of Ed's highly collaborative role enactment is reflected in the tactics he employed in providing candidate terms for the supervisor's talk - a repair strategy (see McHoul 1990, for discussion of repair and its place in classroom talk). This demonstrated a high degree of competence in attending behavior, or what Ed referred to as 'active listening' when speaking of a strategy he employed with his class. Writing of such phenomena, Goodwin and Heritage (1990: 294), relate how conversation analysis has revealed how:

recipients ['hearers'] can demonstrate their understanding of speakers' actions by participating in them with facial displays, head movements, intonation and even substantial comments of their own that overlap the continuing development of speakers' utterances. Speakers can then modify their emerging talk to take into account these listener displays . . . the placement of overlap can demonstrate precision tracking of the emerging course of an utterance.

At times, the terms Ed proposed were more technically correct than the supervisor's (as shown in the following segment of the supervisor's report phase, Transcript Fragment 3.12, line 613):

Transcript Fragment 3.12

- 603 Vern: =er- uh- well *sbe - sbe* has *done* a lot of
604 *research* -on (0.2) *girls* - and uh w- e- and
605 - um partic- more *teen-age* -*girls* -hh and
606 it's >particularly in the areas< of *math* and
607 *science* and *why* - they *fall* - *be-bind*:
608 (0.2) in *math* and *science* -hh and what uh-
609 two >two reasons< - *one* - *math* and *science*
610 are generally -done in what you might *call*
611 for (0.6) >*quick* summary *purpose*< - *linear*
612 way;s
613 Ed: >linear *m^lodalitie_s*<
614 Vern: *modal^li-ties* and *boy:s*
615 - tend to *learn*: -*that* - *way* - *better* by the
616 time *they* - you know - *they* always *claim*
617 that -h that boys're right *brained* - to - to
618 *left* brain. They're *right* brain when they're
619 *supposed* to be learning *reading* and- that's
620 why *they* fall *be-bind*, because it's a *left*
621 brain *activity* the *ba sic* learning process
622 Ed: u h huh¹

The collaborative nature of the conference is highlighted by the fact that the supervisor accepted and incorporated the repair in his own talk (line 614).

Ed often employed this strategy to gain the floor (note line 238):

Transcript Fragment 3.13

- 231 Vern: =and they're *ad-ded* - there's -*con[^]fu-sion* -
232 'cause *be* *ga-ve* *this* -*re[^]sp[^]on-se* - >but
233 there're< -*re[^]sp[^]on-ses* over -*here* - *so* -*now*
234 -h >*ra*-ther than just< *ba[^]u-ing* - *one*
235 *cor-rect* *re[^]sp[^]on-se* - they ha[^]ve -to sort
236 -out the *incor-rect* - *from* the

- 237 *cor-rect*⁰
 238 Ed >[he *cor-rect*< -hh >and in< *st-ill*
 239 ^mak-ing *sure* that the *-lear-ner* - *-feels*
 240 that *they're* >-con^tribu-ted<
 241 and *not*
 242 Vene: (>you accept¹ him<) °yeah° it's- -hh

This floor-gaining strategy is much less competitive than others that could be used (e.g. escalation by raised voice). It projects cooperation and collaboration in production of the talk. The flow of talk between these two also was characterized by rapid turn changes that were often achieved through *latching* (see Figure 2.1). Latching requires that listeners attend to the talk and project the completion of turns or other possible turn-transition points (Sacks *et al.* 1978; Goodwin and Heritage 1990) and time their own talk accordingly.

Both Kari and Ed displayed the communicative competence necessary to participate collaboratively in their conferences. They were able to advance their own positions without appearing to violate any norms of propriety. They neither confronted nor undermined their supervisor and his or her position. Granted, the supervisors in both cases viewed these two teachers as unproblematic. Both Kari and Ed were offered contracts for the following year.

Bea, Enacting an Adversarial Conference Role

Faye, Bea's supervisor, had shared with me her negative opinion of Bea as a teacher before I witnessed her teaching and their subsequent conference. This negative opinion and Bea's probable knowledge of it may have greatly influenced the nature of their conference. Bea used none of the tactics I have shown to be characteristic of either the passive or collaborative teacher conference roles.

Bea's conference was ripe with competition for the floor (note lines 71 and 78, from a supervisor's report phase of the conference):

Transcript Fragment 3.14

- 71 Faye: *because* - *-no:* - I don't see this kinda
 72 *-scene* - in the *real* -world. - *That* kinda
 73 stuff ^*ne-ver*: happens - and *so* - *then* you
 74 write - *no* - *right there* (0.4) AND you would
 75 expect them ^*not* to be able to *finish* - the
 76 *-rest* - *because* - they've *never* seen any
 77 such *thing* HAP ^PEN in the *real*
 78 Bea: O-OK so th-¹ I see: ¹
 79 Faye: *-world* - *-O-K* so then - *what* are the
 80 ^*fee-lings* of the *play-ers*? - you should've
 81 *-ba-d* - *two:* - *feelings* (0.3) the ^*tea-cher*:
 82 - and - the - *stu-dent*.

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Or note lines 574 and 575, 578–581 below (taken from a transition between a supervisor's report phase and a teacher's response phase of the conference):

Transcript Fragment 3.15

- 573 Bea: umkay
574 Faye: i | s-
575 Bea: >A|ND YOU KNOW WHEN I ^READ< - .THE - the
576 pac-ket thatchu gave us - on role play-ing,
577 it was con-fu^sing because I didn't -
578 Faye: if's so detail-ed that you- you'd go >^on
579 Bea: ye^ah:
580 Faye: and ^on and ^o_n<
581 Bea: ye'ah=

Seldom was Bea successful in her bids for the floor. Although the transcript fragment above (line 575) does show one such successful interruption, note that many different tactics were involved in its accomplishment. Both increased speed, as shown by the arrows, and raised voice, as shown by the capital letters, were used in combination to accomplish what could be construed as an interruption. Even then, a slight pause suggests that Bea stopped to check whether she had actually gained the floor before she proceeded.

In most other instances of simultaneous talk in this conference (and there were many) it was Faye who escalated and retained the floor. This strategy of the supervisor's was probably due, in part, to her opinion that whenever she mentioned a problem, Bea started 'arguing'. She felt she needed to work at keeping this teacher on task, something she did throughout the conference.

Experiencing little success in getting the floor to voice her opinions or concerns, Bea employed other tactics for her part in 'managing' her conference. Two of the tactics she used were having recourse to the (physical) context within which the conference occurred, and invoking tenets of teacher culture in her defense.

The external physical environment often became a conversationally relevant part of the conference for Bea and Faye. There was an electronic bell that sounded, a teacher who came by to borrow a stopwatch, and another teacher who knocked at her outside classroom door causing Bea to leave the conference to answer the knock. Bea, herself, made mention of her class outside at recess and her concern that they might not have the proper supervision.

Transcript Fragment 3.16

- 145 ((Bea goes to window))
146 Bea: =I'm jus- concerned that my kids are out
147 -there ((at recess)) with no supervision
148 Faye: OH:
149 well you'd better get out ^the re, -then.

- 150 Bea: ^no! he's
 151 still out there - that's good (1.2) >just
 152 let me -check and make -sure< - ^O.K=
 153 Faye: =the - intent of this question - is: (0.8)
 154 if: - you were:=
 155 Bea: =oh, I forgot to take
 156 my ()
 157 Faye: IF - YOU WERE -TAKING! - °a pen-cil - at the
 158 end° see what you're after ^here - IS -
 159 THEM to th:ink
 160 Bea: UM HUM=

Bea 'left' the conference momentarily. When she came back, Faye worked to retrieve another previous conference topic and to hold Bea to it (line 157). Bea did not mention this group again during the conference. It is interesting to speculate why she chose to mention her group just when she did.

Perhaps Bea had become uncomfortable with the trajectory of the conference. Just prior to Bea's mention of the group outside, Faye apologized for actually interrupting Bea's lesson and addressing her class. Such interruptions are particularly forceful violations of the norms of professional interaction between supervisor and teacher (Goldhammer 1969: 89; Waite 1990/1991, 1992c). Having committed such a violation, Faye apologized profusely (note lines 132-4 and 136, and Bea's reaction at lines 135 and 137).

Transcript Fragment 3.17

- 125 Bea: =yeah - it does=
 126 Faye: =FIRST - PREDICT WHAT's gonna happen as a
 127 result of this -scene - now when Dorothy did
 128 ^bers, she predicted (0.2) another way, like
 129 you did - and so that was the next -scene.
 130 - Well that kinda gotchu into ^trou-ble -
 131 when they - predicted - that they were gonna
 132 punch -out - and - I - could not (0.6)
 133 °lis-ten° - I tried to stay out of it, but I
 134 could NOT leave -it - I could n ot
 135 Bea: OH I'M GLAD - you d'id tha t's fine
 136 Faye: lea've - that - because it - e: ^volved so
 137 Bea: °that's fine°
 138 Faye: - naturally - that - >it got -worse<
 139 Bea: um hum um hum um hum
 140 Faye: >th'at it ^es-calated< once!
 141 you use an ^escala-tion: - whether it
 142 involves t- I mean they were just ^thrilled
 143 - because here's a scene they hadn't seen
 144 -before=

- 145 ((Bea goes to window))
 146 Bea: *I'm jus- concerned that my kids are out
 147 -there ((at recess)) with no supervision
 148 Faye: OH:
 149 uell you'd better get out^there, -then.
 150 Bea: ^no! he's
 151 still out -there - that's good (1.2)

Bea tried unsuccessfully to close down the topic (lines 135 and 137) and, 'having failed in those attempts, 'left' the conference, mentioning the class outside. When she returned, she was rewarded. Faye retrieved another lesson-related topic for discussion rather than the topic of her interruption.

In a discussion of participants' roles in interviews, a face-to-face encounter not unlike supervisory conferences, Briggs (1986: 56) speaks of moves like Bea's as 'breaking the frame of the interview'. He states that this is 'the respondent's principal means of subverting' (p. 56) the interviewer's (or supervisor's) power or 'communicative hegemony' (p. 90). Bea's move may then be seen as a teacher resistance strategy.⁵

At another time, when Faye was probing Bea as to why she refused to include a particular boy, Cody, in her role-play lesson, Bea drew upon a tenet of teacher culture for her defense. Briefly stated, that tenet may read: The teacher knows the students best. In discussing the cultures of teaching, Feiman-Nemser and Floden (1986) mention the cellular organization of schools, the norms of non-interference, and those of individualism. They write, 'Some teachers resent the fact that the person responsible for judging their competence observes them infrequently and knows less than they do about what is going on in their room' (p. 517).

Bea's response to Faye's (implied) criticism for not including Cody in the role play took this form:

Transcript Fragment 3.18

- 336 Bea: and the reason - I didn't call on him -today
 337 is just because he's been totally off the
 338 -wall: and so (0.6) ha:ving him up there -
 339 participating >would've been a very bad<
 340 -choice.. because - he would have - just
 341 been (0.4) more obnoxious - than he was by
 342 sitting back there - stac^king: - -books
 343 around and doing the things that he's- ^IN
 344 -FACT - he's been so bad throughout the
 345 whole school - that - somebody said - if
 346 Faye's coming to watch - today you don't
 347 wanna be sabotaged by Cody - >send him outta
 348 the -room - and I didn't - do that
 349 Faye: do - uh - yet - but - some^ti:mes - his -

- 350 *thorough* – *involvement* in *it*
 351 (0.9)
 352 *Bea*: *we* *tried* ^{al} *-ready*
 353 *Faye*: *cut* ^{ou} *ts* ^{the} *behavior* –
 354 *But* *you're* *saying* *that* *wouldn't* *work* ^f *or*
 355 *Bea*: *it*^l
 356 *Faye*: ()
 357 *Bea*: *di* *dn't* *w-* *it* *hasn't* *worked* *so* *-far* –
 358 *today* – *>an* *I'd* – *'cause* *I* *was* *really* *going*
 359 *to* *^use* *-him*.

Note how Bea brought others to her aid (lines 345–8 and again at line 352). She stated that another teacher had suggested a ploy – removing Cody from the room during the observation – that she had refused to implement. She used the inclusive 'we' (line 352). Though she said 'we tried already', she never stated what it was that 'they' had tried; surely, it wasn't the boy's thorough involvement in the lesson. Bea asserted that her intention had been to use him in the lesson (lines 358 and 359) and implied that she would have, except for his behavior.

Faye retreated and acknowledged the teacher's belief (line 354) that it 'wouldn't work'. Still Faye pursued the topic. Bea then brought up another student, a girl, who also had wanted to participate in the role-play and whom Bea had not included; again she gave an account of the student's abhorrent behavior as her rationale. Faye continued probing and pursuing this notion of including the 'target kids'. Bea admitted she had been afraid to attempt it and, after this admission, Faye encouraged Bea to consider this strategy in the future (Transcript Fragment 3.19). Bea readily accepted this resolution.

Transcript Fragment 3.19

- 438 *Faye*: *can* – *pre-dic* ^t ^{so}
 439 *Bea*: *I* *wish* *I* *ha* ^{dn't} – *been* – *so* –
 440 *afraid* *to* *do* *-that* – *I* *wish* *I* *hadn't* *had*
 441 *Faye*: *we* *ll* – *it* *isn't* *like* *this* *is* *gonna* *to* *go*
 442 *a-way* – *you* *can* *try* *it* *again*
 443 *so, meTME* *hhh*
 444 *Bea*: *oh* *ye's* *>oh* *the* *thing* *is* *-s* *that*
 445 *they* *ua-* – *the* *kids* *an-* *and* *the* *kids* – *I*
 446 *think* *they* *do* *ua^* *nna* *try* *it* *again*, *>I* *got* ○
 447 *the* *feeling* *<* *they'd* *like* *to* *do*: – *try* *it*
 448 *^again*,

They closed out that sensitive topic and the conference moved on.

Faye's agenda for the conference had been to keep Bea focused, something she achieved by working to control the turns at talk and the topics. Bea, though, influenced the flow of the conference through her introduction of

contextual considerations (e.g. the class outside and her responsibility to them); through the activation of cultural norms; and by invoking the power of the opinions of the other (unseen) teachers, her colleagues. Bea's enactment of an adversarial conference role through exploitation of the conversational rights accruing to her during both the teacher response phase and the programmatic phase (not here reported) literally caused Faye to back off and, in a sense, forced her out of the room. Much to Faye's chagrin, Bea's contract was renewed, but on a continuing probationary basis.

Summary and Discussion

Analysis of the conferences here presented concerned at least three distinctive teacher roles in supervision conferences: the passive, the collaborative and the adversarial. The teacher who enacted a passive conference role, Doug, mainly acknowledged the supervisor's remarks, encouraging the supervisor to speak more. Due to his passivity, he was unable or unwilling to counter forcefully the supervisor's direct and indirect criticisms. The teachers who enacted the collaborative conference role, Kari and Ed, did so by timing and phrasing their utterances so as not to appear confrontational. This requires a high level of active listening and communicative competence. Still, these two teachers successfully advanced their agendas. The teacher who enacted an adversarial conference role, Bea, did so through marked competition for the floor and actions that demonstrated her reluctance to accept either what her supervisor, Faye, had to say or her role as her evaluator. She 'broke the frame of the conference' and enlisted tenets of teacher culture and other, absent, teachers in her defense.

In Doug's case, Bourdieu's (1986) notion of cultural capital was mentioned as a way to make sense of the processes and outcomes of both the conference and his tenure with his district. Kari's and Ed's supervisors did not view their teaching as problematic; they retained their jobs. There may have been a reflexive relationship between their conference behaviors and the supervisors' estimation of their teaching. Since their teaching was viewed as not problematic, their conferences might tend to be so; or, as their conferences went smoothly, the supervisors might have been more favorably disposed toward their teaching. The notion of cultural capital may also explain these teachers' success, for in both cases they possessed something their districts wanted. Kari was recruited by her principal in spite of, or because of, her alternative views and lifestyle, as he wanted to reinvigorate an aging teaching staff. Ed was recruited by Vern partially as an affirmative action hire due to his ethnicity and gender (male primary teachers were affirmative action hires in that district). These social facts, however, should not detract from the competencies these two demonstrated.

Bea's case was more problematic for both the supervisor and this

researcher. How was it that, given her supervisor's poor estimation of her teaching and social skills, she was able to retain her position?

Bea was a local. I suspect that this fact outweighed other considerations. As I have intimated elsewhere (Waite 1989, *in press* and Chapter 4, this volume), Bea had negotiated two of Hall's (1959) three levels of (teacher) culture successfully – the informal and the formal, if not the technical. Perhaps the cultural capital she did possess – being a local – was what was the most valued by her district.⁴

This study points to the importance of the recruitment and placement of beginning teachers. There are implications here for mentor programs, as well as for supervision and teacher socialization. The human consequences of poor choices in teacher recruitment and placement are too severe for administrators, principals or supervisors, to unthinkingly fill teaching slots in the old 'sink or swim' mode. Bea's and Doug's cases underscore this point – Bea's case, in that program faculty succumbed to political pressure and admitted her when all available indicators suggested otherwise; Doug's case, as one where a change in any of several variables may have led to a more successful conclusion. Both these cases beg that local educational leaders search their hearts and souls for answers to questions concerning local values, priorities and commitment of support.

Conclusion

This research contributes to our understanding of teacher socialization and supervision. It corroborates previous research, especially in the area of teacher socialization, highlighting the interactive processes of such socialization (Lacey 1977; Zeichner and Tabachnick 1985; Etheridge 1989). Where previous claims rested upon 'coarse-grained' research, this study examines how such interactive processes actually take place moment-to-moment and face-to-face.

In taking a qualitative, some might say micro-ethnographic, perspective, the present research deepens our understanding of the phenomena of supervision and supervisory conferences. Such efforts are especially important today in the current era of educational reform. Today practitioners and theorists alike have been given license to re-examine traditional roles and relationships. The present study informs those decisions.

Supervision can no longer be viewed as a one-way phenomenon, an imposition of supervisory control on a docile teacher. Though other issues of control, such as the hegemony of supervisory systems, may need further examination before being settled, the present discussion of supervisor-teacher face-to-face interactions has shown that both parties have resources on which they may draw – neither is defenseless and both are responsible for the environment, the context, they co-construct.

Although supervisors enjoy a privileged position in conferences with teachers – they generate the 'data', they initiate the conference and introduce topics

for discussion; they determine what counts as a sufficient teacher response and may redirect when the teacher's account is deemed insufficient – teachers' resources are not to be underestimated. This study has identified a few of those teacher resources. Teachers influence the trajectory of all conferences, but only the collaborative teacher conference role allows teachers to co-construct, with supervisors, a positive image of Self and Other.

For the teacher, the collaborative supervisory conference seems to be the most felicitous of the three types discussed (Ovando 1993). True collaboration, however, is hampered especially by fixed and negative supervisory agendas (Waite 1992b, see also Chapter 2, this volume). In fact, it may be that any strong supervisor (or teacher) agenda restricts the degree of negotiation possible between teacher and supervisor, and complicates collaboration (Fullan 1992; Hargreaves and Dawe 1990). Also, concretized roles and role expectations negatively influence negotiation and collaboration (Burbules 1986; Waite, in press). Blindly holding either oneself or another to a certain role restricts the resources and approaches that can be brought to bear on educational problems.

Supervisors ought to heed as warning signs those indicators which suggest that their conferences are other than collaborative. If supervision and supervisors are to play a role in restructured schools and systems, they had best divest themselves of the vestiges of the 'snoopervisor' image. This involves work and education. Supervisors need to prove themselves capable of such collaborative effort.⁵

To be robust and viable within the context of school reform, supervisors, and indeed supervision itself, must simultaneously navigate two courses of self-renewal: the personal or individual, and the systemic. On the personal level, supervisors must model those skills, attitudes and knowledge that they prize in empowered teachers: reflection, collaboration, risk taking, an ethic of caring and the ability to enable the learning and growth of self and others.

Supervisors wishing to exhibit more collaborative behaviors must seriously examine their agenda and motivations before engaging with a teacher in a conference. Further, they may wish to record, analyze and reflect upon their conference behaviors. In conference, they may give the floor to the teacher and his or her concerns by allowing the teacher to begin the conference, by pausing more often and longer, by using more acknowledgment tokens, and by modeling some of the behaviors exhibited by the more collaborative teachers discussed in this research: active listening and incorporating what the other speaker says in one's own talk. Such behaviors signal acceptance. In brief, such attitudes and behaviors would approximate Benhabib's (1992: 8) 'model of a moral conversation in which the capacity to reverse perspectives, that is, the willingness to reason from the others' point of view, and the sensitivity to hear their voice is paramount'.

Other collaborative supervisory behaviors are offered in Scollon and Scollon's (1986) *Responsive Communication: Patterns for Making Sense*. Use of the Scollons' 'patterns' increases both personal and organizational

responsiveness. Applied to supervision they suggest, for example, that supervisors should:

- 'study the whole situation and leave alone anything that is outside your power to control' (p. 10);
- 'confine your actions to your local place in the system. Study listening there first' (p. 11);
- 'foster loose organizational structures and *favor local responsiveness over institutional objectives*' (p. 12, emphasis added);
- 'emphasize the other person's autonomy and freedom of action. Offer alternatives' (p. 33);
- 'find neutral turf' (p. 39);
- 'speak last' (p. 40);
- 'pause' (p. 41);
- 'wait . . . watch others for signs that you have interrupted them. Apologize and let them continue' (p. 42);
- 'slow down' (p. 43);
- 'hedge . . . emphasize the conditionality of everything you say' (p. 44);
- 'relax in your organizational position. Do not be afraid to let your humanity show through' (p. 48); and
- 'be vulnerable . . . practice stepping out of your professional role' (p. 52; this last communicates trust to others).

Just as it has been shown that teachers have previously unrecognized power to influence supervision conferences, so too do supervisors have the power to influence the *systems* of supervision. Just as Eisner (1991: 11) suggests that teachers mediate the curriculum, supervisors likewise mediate school organizations. The provision of organizational 'flex' for teachers and a willingness to take risks on their behalf demonstrate supervisors' ethic of caring, among other things. Indeed, supervisors and their interventions may be more palatable to teachers if they focus their efforts on supervising *contexts* rather than supervising teaching *behaviors* (a point developed in Chapter 5). To do so may require that supervisors and teachers become co-researchers of their situations.

Supervision conferences are embedded within multiple contexts; teaching and learning are also. In order to practice collaboration, supervisors need to recognize that teachers are one, and only one, variable among all those that have an impact on learning. Supervisors must quit blaming teachers, and should simultaneously examine the 'micro' and 'macro' contexts and processes influencing teaching and learning. What I am proposing is that supervisors involve teachers in action research projects focused upon improving learning and students' lived experiences – a process similar to organization development. Supervisors may choose to renegotiate professional roles – theirs and teachers' – to accommodate such research and action. In this way, supervisors, with

teachers, could provide the leadership needed for the radical restructuring of schools.

Notes

1 The terms 'micro' and 'macro' are problematic because they foster a naive and inaccurate dichotomy – hence the use of 'scare quotes'. However, following convention, they will be used because, even in spite of their problematic nature, they economically convey what more accurately might be termed 'fine-grained' and 'coarse-grained' focuses and analysis.

2 These terms are simply heuristic devices. The term 'collaborative' could tend to be misleading in this regard. All conversations, as concerted action, are collaborations. Grice (1975: 45) wrote of a 'cooperative principle' as an underlying orientation of participants in conversations. However, as stated, the term 'collaborative' here refers to the general nature of the interaction, the gestalt, and emphasizes the active collaboration of the teacher, as will be shown.

There is an easy association between the terminology I use to describe these teachers and that used by Glickman (1990) to distinguish supervisory behaviors: non-directive, collaborative and directive. It would be interesting to compare styles of teachers and supervisors in this regard.

3 Chapter 4 is devoted to an explication of Bea's resistance strategies.

4 Bea continued to work for this district until her husband was transferred in 1991. She completed her master's degree two years behind her cohort. Faye retired the year after fieldwork for this study was completed. She is now traveling with her husband.

5 Some suggestions as to how supervisors may foster collaborative relationships and environments are presented in Chapters 5 and 6.

Problematizing Supervision and Teacher Resistance

In this chapter I deconstruct and then reflect the concept of teacher resistance in order to re-establish it as a polysemic term (i.e. in order to re-establish its multiple meanings) and to unsettle popular misconceptions of supervision.¹ Recently, the term *teacher resistance* has been appropriated by some who define it as *only* that which is collective *and* progressive (e.g. Giroux 1981, 1983, McLaren 1985, Walker 1985, Kanpol 1988, 1991).² Such appropriation runs the risk of placing the observer or reader in an Archimedean position of judging what does and what does not qualify as resistance. In another context Quigley (1992: 306) cautioned that such issues cannot be settled by references to vague or ultimate principles whereby we establish yet another hierarchical power arrangement'. Quoting Ryan (1982), Quigley reminds us that '[t]he tendency to posit transcendent principles, whether for resistance or power structure, establishes . . . "a point of authority (an agency), a hierarchical command structure, and a police force"' (p. 295). Rather, as is the project of this chapter, Quigley (p. 301, fn. 44) admonishes us to 'make provisional choices . . . act knowing that the action is not a move toward an answer, a settling of the question, but just the reverse, an unsettling of power'.

If successful, the research and discussion presented here will unsettle notions of teacher resistance and the presumed hegemony of supervisors as well.

Teachers' Representation in the Literature of Supervision

Teachers have long been marginalized by the mainstream literature of instructional supervision, just as teachers' roles in supervision have been trivialized and objectified.³ Its literature rationalizes supervision as being growth inducing for teachers, defining itself as 'the improvement of instruction' (e.g. Weller 1971). Seldom is this notion problematized. Rather, within the mainstream literature of supervision, teachers are subject to objectification, rationalization and commodification.⁴ This lamentable state of affairs is reflected in the rhetoric of even some of the most liberal-minded educators, as it is voiced in public and political spheres in calls for reform, where teachers are perceived to be the only culpable party.⁵

Of course, supervision as a field of study cannot be separated from the larger historical-political milieu in which it operates (Bolin and Panaritis 1992). Through the years, researchers and theorists have examined supervision through their particular methodological and ideological lenses. Recently, critical theorists have begun to examine supervision (Smyth 1985, 1991b; St Maurice 1987) while concurrently critical theory itself is being refined.⁶ The application of critical theory to the study and development of supervision is felicitous given that a prime motivation of critical theory is its educative agenda (Fay 1987). However, as Fay asserts, critical theorists have not dealt adequately with the ontological presuppositions to notions of resistance. Moreover, theorists generally and critical theorists specifically have been shown to neglect the lived, phenomenological world of teachers (Bowers 1982).

This chapter is premised on the belief that the study of teachers and their lived experiences – as evidenced in the moment-by-moment unfolding of a teacher-supervisor conference – will enhance understanding of supervision, especially teachers' roles in the process. What follows is an examination of a particularly problematic teacher-supervisor conference, with attention given to the phenomena of teacher resistance.

Methodology and Perspective

The conference reported here was taken from that same corpus of data which formed the basis of the discussion in Chapters 2 and 3 of this volume (see the Appendix). These data form the basis for the analysis of a teacher-supervisor conference. Use of a single case may trouble some readers. However, an appropriate response to the skeptical *what-can-we-learn-from-just-one-of-any-thing-question* is Wolcott's (1988: 16) pithy reply: 'All we can!' Friedrich (1989: 299) makes the argument for studying the individual, at whatever level of analysis:

Individuals at these and yet other levels of analysis should be included because they give critical margins of understanding, insight and intuition into 'how political economy works' and how it is lived out in real life . . . margins that elude the rigidly sociocentric or socioeconomic modes of research. When the biographical and autobiographical dimensions are not dealt with, the study of language . . . and of political economy . . . tends to remain somehow unreal, and hence vulnerable to the charge of objectification and even of structuralist fetishization and alienation . . . [T]o exclude the unique individual as a matter of methodological principle is disturbingly analogous to the suppression of dissent in a totalitarian society. Also, ideologies, like poems, are always originally generated and contributed to by individuals.

I chose this particular case – that between Faye and Bea – because it so clearly illustrates one type of teacher resistance.

The Context and the Actors

The Program

The program that frames this study is the same program discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. It was modeled after the Harvard Master of Arts in Teaching summer school program (Goldhammer 1969; Cogan 1973; Garman 1990). It was a collaborative university-school program designed to offer beginning teachers field support and graduate courses culminating in a masters degree.

The program's teachers were under the direction of a school district supervisor – a 'clinical professor', in the program's terminology. These supervisors acted as liaisons between the university and their local district. These clinical professors (supervisors) were responsible for grading their teachers' graduate course work.

The Actors

The supervisor-protagonist of this chapter, Faye, was two years short of retirement at the time of this study. She had been with her district, Milltown, for more than 20 years. She began her career as an elementary school teacher and had been a clinical professor with this program for 15 years. In that role, she was expected to provide some of her beginning teachers' graduate course work and their instructional support in the field. (These beginning teachers were also appointed an on-site mentor.) Supervisory support consisted, as it did for all program supervisors and teachers, of classroom observations and feedback.

Bea, the teacher-protagonist of this report, was one of Faye's six beginning teachers that year. Bea was a 'non-traditional student'. She was the oldest of her cohort, pursuing a career as a teacher after having raised a family. She came from Milltown and had done her student teaching there, when she had caught the attention of a local principal.

The Immediate Historical Context

The observation and conference reported here occurred in the late spring/early summer, a week before the end of public school classes. Bea was carrying an 'incomplete' in her graduate courses from the previous term. Faye had the habit of structuring her seminars around certain teaching and observation techniques. Her students, the beginning teachers in this district, were to complete the observations and practice the teaching methods as assignments. The most recent teaching technique Faye had taught the group was that of role-play, and that was the lesson of Bea's which Faye and I were to observe. Bea arranged the observation at her convenience – having called and left a message

at Faye's office changing the agreed-upon observation time to one later in the day.

The Lesson

Faye brought a video camera to record the lesson. Before the lesson actually began, Faye addressed Bea's fifth-grade class. Mentioning the camera, she reminded them that they had all seen cameras before and implored them to not act any differently than usual:

Faye: How many of you have seen a classroom on TV? None of you have watched a classroom on TV where some kid looked at the camera as you do. And you people are pretty good about letting me videotape without making a face into the camera. It's going to be really helpful and you'll be really proud of your tape afterwards when you get a chance to look at it. You'll get a chance to see yourself on tape if everybody is doing what they're supposed to be doing and not watching (me). So I know it's really hard when there's somebody in here videotaping, while you're supposed to be paying attention . . . pay attention, and just give me a glance, but don't do anything that's going to show up on the (tape). All right? Thanks, I'm sure you'll do just fine.

Bea began the lesson.

Bea: [taking the floor from Faye] Okay, thanks for paying so much attention, you did a good job and I appreciate it too. Okay, well, what we're going to do today is, I think it's going to be really fun, because this is new for me, too. As you know, we did it, we've never done it before, so it's going to be fun to see how it turns out . . . Well, it's going to be a different kind of lesson, it's not the normal lesson. (fieldnotes, 6 June 1989)

Bea then posed the problem that the class was going to be dealing with in the role-play, a hypothetical case of thievery. Well into the lesson some students suggested 'punching out' the make-believe culprit. Faye interrupted the lesson, stating that she thought some of the resolutions offered by students were inappropriate:

Faye: [to class] (it was) like the teacher was going to punch back, the teacher was angry. And you know what I heard happen out in the crowd? Somebody said, 'Hit 'em, hit 'em!'

Student: Chris!

- Faye:* I heard things like that. And I felt sad because I thought if people begin to use violence, what I saw happening was it got worse. When [student] punched the teacher, the teacher was angry back and was likely to do something back, and then pretty soon the audience was saying, 'Hit 'em!' And I saw things getting worse in that scene.
- Bea:* Good. Anybody have any thoughts on that? Anybody have any thoughts on that?
- Student:* Can we go to lunch?
[general laughter]
- Student:* Nice thought!
- Student:* Mrs Quincy! Mrs Quincy!
- Bea:* OK. I need quiet. Yes, Cody, you had your hand up.
- Cody:* Um, Chris, Chris wasn't saying have Garret hit him back, it was . . .
- Faye:* It was about using that as a way of solving problems. Doesn't sound like a very safe place to be to me! I'd be frightened if I were in a place where people were punching. (fieldnotes, 6 June 1989)

The lesson ended soon thereafter. When the students left for recess, Faye, Bea and I sat at a table in the back of the room, me off to one side, and the conference began.

The Conference

Faye worked from a checklist, something she felt she needed to do because she felt Bea was prone to 'arguing' (fieldnotes, 6 June 1989). The checklist was entitled 'Guide for Evaluating Your Performance: Role-Playing and Interactive Teaching' and consisted of 11 questions. Only yes answers were scored, the highest possible score being 11. Faye had scored Bea's lesson as a 5.5.

In the conference, Faye asked Bea questions from the checklist and Bea responded. Aside from topic initiation, Faye exerted her control in other ways (see Chapter 2). One such technique manifested itself in competition for the floor, or turns-at-talk. For example, when both spoke simultaneously (in overlap), it was most often Faye who retained the floor and Bea who dropped out. This is not meant to imply, as the present discussion will bear out, that such supervisor control is total and unified. It is not.

Teacher Resistance Tactics

The following transcript segments represent sites of contestation and demonstrate the resistance tactics Bea employed.

Breaking the Frame of the Conference

Briggs' (1986) sociolinguistic reappraisal of the interview as a communicative event led him to the conclusion that 'the respondent's principal means of subverting power lies in breaking the frame of the interview' (p. 56). As communicative events, interviews are not too dissimilar from supervision conferences. If a supervisor controls the topics, asks the questions, and even determines the relevancy and adequacy of a teacher's response, little more is left to a teacher if he or she chooses to resist than to refuse to play by the rules.

As Faye was addressing the questions from her checklist she and Bea were discussing what the result for the students would be of the scene portrayed in the role-play. Faye brought up her own intervention in the lesson and apologized (Transcript Fragment 4.1, lines 132-134, 136, 138):

Transcript Fragment 4.1

- 126 Faye: =FIRST - PREDICT WHAT's gonna happen as a
127 result of this .scene - now when Dorothy did
128 ^hers, she predicted (0.2) another way, like
129 you did - and so that was the next .scene.
130 - well that kinda gotchu into ^trou-ble -
131 when they - predicted - that they were gonna
132 punch -out - and - I - could not (0.6)
133 ^lis-ten^o - I tried to stay out of it, but I
134 could NOT leave .it | I could n ot
135 Bea: OH I'M GLAD - you d id tha t's fine |
136 Faye: leave - that - because it - e.^volved so
137 Bea: ^that's fine^o
138 Faye: - naturally - that - >it got .worse<
139 Bea: um hum um hum um hum
140 Faye: >th^lat it ^es-calated< once^l
141 you use an ^escala-tion: - whether it
142 involves t- I mean they were just ^thrilled
143 - because here's a scene they hadn't seen
144 .before=
145 ((Bea goes to window))
146 Bea: =I'm jus- concerned that my kids are out
147 .there ((at recess)) with no supervision
148 Faye: OH:^l
149 well you'd better get out ^the re, .then.
150 Bea: ^no^l he's
151 still out .there - that's good (1.2) >just
152 let me .check and make .sure< - ^O.K=
153 Faye: =the - intent of this question - is (0.8)
154 if: - you were=
155 Bea: =oh, I forgot to take

- 156 my ()
 157 Faye: IF - YOU WERE -TAKING¹ - °a pen-cil - at the
 158 end° see what you're after ^ here; - IS: -
 159 THEM to th:ink
 160 Bea: UM HUM=

Bea's protestations (line 135) can be seen as an attempt to close discussion of this topic. An interruption by a supervisor is a strong violation of the norms of professional conduct. It may even be construed as a negative evaluation of the teacher's performance, her ability to conduct this type of lesson and to manage the class. During our debrief, Faye said, 'I try not to ever interrupt a lesson, but that one [of Bea's] ...' (fieldnotes, 6 June 1989). Even after Bea's protestations, Faye continued on this topic - possibly wishing to justify her interruption.

This discussion made Bea uncomfortable (notice the repeated overlaps, line 135, in raised voice). She then broke the frame of the conference, getting up and 'leaving' the conference to go to the window. When she returned, the topic changed. Faye retrieved the discussion of the scene and the intent of the teacher's question during the role play (line 153). Bea attempted a radical topic shift, to break the frame of the conference again (lines 155 and 156). Faye held her to the task by not allowing her to finish.

Bea initiated another radical topic shift much later in the conference (Transcript Fragment 4.2, line 330).

Transcript Fragment 4.2

- 310 Faye: Uh - did they generalize >whatda you
 311 ^think?< do you think your kids left here
 312 with - a (1.0) °way; - of dealing with that
 313 prob.lem?°
 314 Bea: °no - I don't ^think they -did° - because I
 315 th- I don't think they were in tune: with
 316 what was goi- I don- th- I ^didn't feel
 317 comfor.table.
 318 (0.4)
 319 Faye: I think it's °right,° and I think you're
 320 right - I think it was right here=
 321 Bea: =yeah=
 322 Faye: =I think we °got off right there°
 323 Bea: um hum
 324 Faye: and they needed - uh - E! ther - explanation
 325 °at the beginning.°
 326 Bea: um 'kay
 327 Faye: it's - realistic to tell 'em (0.4) that
 328 you're gonna play something you've -seen
 329 (0.6) you've seen kids

- 330 *Bea:* >SEE¹ I didn't know
331 whether- a- because see - the boy that was
332 in the very back-< (0.9) Cody? - um - he -
333 he is. I mean I have a huge bag - he's - he
334 has done -that. A lot
335 *Faye:* um h'um

Here (lines 330-4) Bea begins talking about Cody and the number of times he has taken things from a bag she keeps. Bea has taken the floor in overlap, using raised voice and increased speed - two escalation tactics which gain her the floor. This constitutes an interruption (as compared with other occurrences of overlap that do not so constitute an interruption). Faye's acknowledgment token, the 'um hum' of line 335, projects Faye's orientation to Bea's continuing, in essence, Faye concedes to Bea.⁷ Bea continued (Transcript Fragment 4.3).

Activation of a Counter-Discourse

According to Terdiman (1985: 39-40):

dominant forms of discourse have achieved unprecedented degrees of penetration and an astonishingly sophisticated capacity to enforce their control of the forms of social communication and social practice ... But at the same time, in intimate connection with the power of such an apparatus, discourses of resistance ceaselessly interrupt what would otherwise be the seamless serenity of the dominant, its obliviousness to any contestation. For every level at which the discourse of power determines dominant forms of speech and thinking, counter-dominant strains challenge and subvert the appearance of inevitability which is ideology's primary mechanism for sustaining its own self-reproduction.

Though supervisory discourses may have a decided advantage, especially in dyadic encounters, no discourse is so totalizing, so unified, as to be immune from some forms of counter-discourse.⁸

One point of contestation in this conference was Faye's questioning of why the student, Cody, was not included in the role-play. She argued that his inclusion may have mitigated his disruptive behavior. In response, Bea invoked the teacher collective as part of her rationale (Transcript Fragment 4.3, lines 344-8, especially the 'we' of line 352):⁹

Transcript Fragment 4.3

- 336 *Bea:* and the reason - I didn't call on him -today
337 is just because he's been totally off the

- 338 *-wall: and so (0.6) having him up there -*
 339 *participating >would've been a very bad<*
 340 *-choice: Because - he would have - just*
 341 *been (0.4) more obnoxious - than he was by*
 342 *sitting back there - stac^king: - books*
 343 *around and doing the things that he's- ^IN*
 344 *-FACT - he's been so bad throughout the*
 345 *whole school - that - somebody said - if*
 346 *Faye's coming to watch - today you don't*
 347 *wanna be sabotaged by Cody - >send him outta*
 348 *the room - and I didn't - do that*
 349 Faye: *do - uh - yet - but - some^times - his -*
 350 *thorough - involvement in it*
 351 *(0.9)*
 352 Bea: *well we tried al-ready*
 353 Faye: *cut¹ ou ts¹ the behavior. -*
 354 *But you're saying that wouldn't work f¹or*
 355 Bea: *it¹*
 356 Faye: *()*
 357 Bea: *Di dn't w¹ it hasn't worked so far: -*
 358 *today - >an I'd< - 'cause I was really going*
 359 *to ^use: -him.*

Invoking the collective and activating its counter-discourse put Bea and her rationale beyond Faye's reach. In essence, this counter-discourse legitimizes the teacher as *the* authority on classroom occurrences.¹⁰ The tension and negotiation between discourses is evident, even within Bea herself, in her 'and I didn't do that' (line 348).¹¹ The power of this counter-discourse is revealed in Faye's acknowledgment of Bea's negative estimation of the boy's status as a potentially worthy participant (line 354).

Once activated, Bea defended herself, her choices and her actions using these counter-discourses. To parry Faye's insistence on Cody's inclusion, Bea used phrases such as (see Appendix): 'I'd already given him many chances, he hit a kid in the head' (lines 377-9); '[he's just] totally off the wall' (line 381); and 'not today, because he would have made a circus, a three-ring circus out of it up there today' (lines 388-91). These are all opinions based upon the boy's actions 'throughout the whole school' and before Faye's arrival. The authority of the teacher and her decisions are now effectively beyond Faye's interrogation.

The Fine Line between Resistance and Oppression

Ellsworth (1989: 322) reminds us that 'any group - any position - can move into the oppressor role'. Likewise, Burbules (1986: 103) writes of a 'relational

conception of power', whereby, 'in the power relation itself each party might gain a particular gratification from the negotiated balance between compliance and resistance'. Seeing power relations as a web, Burbules believes, reveals that 'relations of power are to some extent reciprocal... [in that] a person in power over another in one respect may be relatively powerless in other respects' (p. 104). Similarly, Terdiman (1985: 65-66) writes of the counter-discourse which 'situates its struggle somehow and somewhere within the conflicted cultural field... [and] functions by a kind of violence'.

Such complex notions of power, compliance and resistance aid in understanding this particular teacher's actions. Bea can at one time be oppressed by her supervisor, while at another time she can resist the supervisor's attempts at discursive hegemony, and at other times she herself may oppress her supervisor. There is no inconsistency here if power and its opposition are relational processes, rather than fixed, static positions.

Just how might Bea oppress her supervisor, Faye? Faye and Bea colluded in the co-construction of this conference.¹² One important aspect of such construction is the production and interpretation of contextualization cues (Gumperz 1992). Contextualization cues signal participants' orientations to 'what is happening now' and 'who we are' in the process. Through her activation of the counter-discourses of teacher culture, Bea has signaled her orientation toward who Faye is, how Bea expects the supervisor to behave, and what Bea thinks her own role is. When rigidly fixed, such role expectations 'constrain the alternatives the agents see as possible' and 'constitute a template or pattern which the relationship will tend to follow' (Burbules 1986: 97). Role expectations that are neither shared nor negotiable are potentially hegemonic.

Bea, alluding to unseen teachers, socially constructs Faye's role as that of *stranger* within their school community and within Bea's classroom. The stranger 'may be forced to go or, at least, forcing him (*sic*) to go may be contemplated without violating the order of things' (Bauman 1988/89: 9). In addition to the tactics cited above, Bea pressed her attack on Faye's position through manipulation of her rights as a conference participant, especially those rights that accrue to the teacher during the last phase of the conference.

In general, supervision conferences have three phases (Waite 1992a; also see Chapters 2 and 3, this volume): the supervisor report phase, the teacher response phase and the programmatic phase. Due to consideration of local conversational issues - resolution of overlap (who drops out, who succeeds in competition for the floor), who employs acknowledgment tokens most often during a particular phase, and who initiates topics - teachers were found to be able to dominate the programmatic phase quite easily.

The programmatic phase of this conference began after Faye completed her last supervisor report. Faye had offered Bea a candidate future action as a remedy for the shortcomings Faye saw in the lesson. Bea agreed to pursue the suggestion (Transcript Fragment 4.4, lines 632, 634-5). The boundary between phases comes with Faye's 'ALL RIGHT', said at line 636. This was Faye's first attempt to close the conference. However, Bea hurriedly began another

turn (latching her turn immediately to Faye's prior turn, with no pause and with rapid voicing). Refusing to accept the closure, Bea began the programmatic phase of this conference. She initiated discussion of her class assignments, hoping to resolve her incomplete credits.

Transcript Fragment 4.4

- 625 Faye: But - uh (0.5) *it would be good - for her*
 626 *to be able to see your:s - because she*
 627 *would say - oh - >I shoulda done that< or -*
 628 *yep - that worked really well and it would*
 629 *probably be good - for you to be able to*
 630 Bea: *ye^ah^*
 631 Faye: *see hers. If IF she's willing to*
 632 Bea: *°um° ID ^LI KE - to do that^*
 633 Faye: *ex,change.*
 634 Bea: *°yeah° ^O-K - we can talk about*
 635 *i,t-*
 636 Faye: *ALL^ RIGHT=*
 637 Bea: *=>I ME- another thing< - is I have my u:m*
 638 *(1.4) I have - everything ready to turn in*
 639 *to you - to-day - except for my u-nit. °Can I*
 640 *turn it in on Thurs-day? - ^K there's°=*

In the discussion that follows, Faye mentioned that she thought Bea had one more assignment due. If Faye wanted to leave, this was a tactical error. Bea was incredulous and queried Faye further (Transcript Fragment 4.5, line 666). Faye attempted to disengage from that contest (of whether or not there was actually another assignment due) at that time (lines 667-9). Bea persisted.

Transcript Fragment 4.5

- 659 Faye: *YEs - but I have to °get back to you - I*
 660 *have to look back through - your file and t-*
 661 *t- con- I marked it down and penciled in*
 662 *- but I have to - >make sure - what time<°*
 663 Bea: *O,K:*
 664 Faye: *the're's one - more: (0.3)*
 665 *that you*
 666 Bea: *>I have another one to ^do?<*
 667 Faye: *well - let me talk to you about it -*
 668 *to-night - when you come, - so I - you can*
 669 *look - through your fold-er.*
 670 Bea: *oh ^O-K*

Both stood and Faye moved toward the door.

However, Bea continued to call Faye to account until the end of their face-to-face encounter, until she made it out the door. Bea enumerated those

assignments she had completed and turned in and those she had yet to complete. Faye's only defense (and, at the same time, her defenselessness) was that her records were at her office. The degree of contestation is evidenced in the following example (note the amount of overlap and competition for the floor):

Transcript Fragment 4.6

- 706 Faye: *sure* and s ee whether I: – just don't have
 707 Bea: OK
 708 Faye: *it – checked* on my *-list*, no- un- and *it*
 709 would've *been* for *-last term* – *it was for*
 710 your *incom-plete*, 'cause I *star-ted* – to
 711 *cha-nge* your *incomplete* from *-la:st term* -hh
 712 and I *thought* (0.2) *wh^oops*: – *-so*: – I'll
 713 talk to you *tonight*, WHEN I HAVE IT in
 714 Bea: all right – good
 715 Faye: fr_ont of – me
 716 Bea: *-ye.ah* OK k- because I – I wasn't
 717 *awa-re* that there was *any thing -else*
 718 Faye: without being – *more* explicit about
 719 ^ *it* –
 720 Bea: OK
 721 Faye: th_ough *-Bea* – don't get *nervous* about *it*
 722 – until I – *check it out* -more.

Faye instigated a radical topic shift (a tactic Bea had used earlier). This was done through interruption, strengthened by asking a question in raised voice (Transcript Fragment 4.7, line 736):

Transcript Fragment 4.7

- 733 Faye: and then we'll *do the* – uh – *fol-der* (2.5)
 734 Thurs-day °OK° *-your* – curriculum=
 735 Bea: =I HA_VE
 736 Faye: ARE! YOU DOING – poe^try?
 737 Bea: >yeah<=
 738 Faye: =°good°=

This topic shift, while deflecting Bea's onslaught, did not get Faye out of the room. To do this, she enlisted me (Transcript Fragment 4.8, lines 754–7, 759) and referred to the group outside (lines 759–60, 762–3). Referring to the group outside reactivated Bea's role *vis-à-vis* her students. Bea responded affirmatively.

Transcript Fragment 4.8

- 754 Faye: ((to observer)) well *Dun-can* – do you wanna
 755 *-go*: – or are you gonna *-stay*. Here I *am* –

- 756 *walkin' outta here* and *^ be's stayin' - here*
 757 ((laughs)) and *be's - watching me -*
 758 *Bea:* ((to observer)) yeah, thank you ((laughs))
 759 *Faye:* *leave.* It's because - *I'm thinking you need*
 760 *to be out on that play-ground.*
 761 *Bea:* *I'm going - out - I'm gonna take=*
 762 *Faye:* =*I SEE YOU* looking out *there - so -*
 763 frequent ly
 764 *Bea:* I'm gonna t-)

We quickly said our good-byes and left.

Faye was aware of how Bea had manipulated her. Afterwards, she commented, 'I'm not going to win . . . because when I try to deal with problems, it becomes a personal assault' with Bea. 'So I just literally kind of backed away . . . [It works for her], she wins either way.' Faye was planning to return to her office to check Bea's course grades, because, as she said, 'There'll be a war if I don't. She really holds me to it' (fieldnotes, 6 June 1989).

The Nature of Teacher Resistance

Even if supervisory conferences can be characterized by their 'communicative hegemony' (Briggs 1986: 90), within the most hegemonic of systems there remains room for resistance (Foucault 1981; Lindstrom 1992). Bea's tactics are tactics of resistance, even if they form only one type of resistance,¹⁵ and even if some of their characteristics still are ill-defined.¹⁶ Others might take exception. Walker (1985: 65), for instance, prefers the term 'recusant' for that oppositional behavior which is not 'actually or potentially, consciously or unconsciously, contributing to progressive social change by undermining the reproduction of oppressive social structures and social relations' and reserves 'resistance' for those behaviors which are.

Other pedagogues, espousing a critical perspective, privilege the conscious, that is, rational (the Frankfurt School, for example) and/or the collective and progressive aspects (e.g. Giroux 1981, 1983; McLaren 1985) of oppositional behavior in their definitions of resistance. In defining terms such as resistance and hegemony, critical pedagogues must be cautious lest their attempts at definition fall prey to a totalization of the concept they seek to define. Commenting on this point, Terdiman (1985) notes that:

Like any . . . Marxist concept, [hegemony] is particularly susceptible to epochal as distinct from historical definition, and to categorical as distinct from substantial description. Any isolation of its 'organizing principles', or of its 'determining features', which have indeed to be grasped in experience and by analysis, can lead very quickly to a totalizing abstraction. (Williams 1977: 112, as cited in Terdiman 1985: 55)

Definitions of resistance that privilege the conscious, the collective and the progressive often have been based on neo-Marxist analyses of power and dialectic based in class, race and more recently gender relationships. Such conceptions exclude considerations of other means of oppression and resistance and totalize personal experience in the process of assigning individuals to reductionistic categories. Fay (1977, 1987) recognizes that some of the problems critical theorists have dealing with resistance can be attributed to inadequate conceptualizations of the embeddedness of the subject and the limitations of agency. More recently, however, the multifaceted nature of oppression and resistance have been examined by such authors as Davis (1992), Ellsworth (1989), Hooks (1990), Lather (1991), Minh-ha (1986/87) and Shilling (1991).

In questioning the privileging of the rational, Shilling (1991: 666) suggests a 'need to recognise the body as a system capable of expressing and interpreting the nature of oppressive social relations'. Such work is based on the theory of embodiment (Bourdieu 1986) and reinstates the body (as opposed to the body politic, though this latter is not thereby negated) as a site of oppression and resistance.

The use of 'progressive' in definitions of resistance is highly subjective and assumes an unwarranted authoritative stance as regards historical moments (Fay 1977, 1987; Burbules 1986; Quigley 1992) and posits an impossible clairvoyance in regards to contemporaneity. No one is granted such an Archimedean position by which to judge contemporary moments.

Restricting resistance to the collective, aside from disenfranchising the body as noted above, almost by definition eliminates teachers from consideration. Organizational structures constraining teachers' lives heavily proscribe collectivity (Little 1990; Kanpol 1991: 139).

In a complex conceptualization of hegemony, resistance and the Other, Ellsworth came to see herself and her students as:

inhabiting intersections of multiple, contradictory, overlapping social positions not reducible either to race, or class, or gender, and so on. Depending upon the moment and the context, the degree to which any one of us 'differs' from the mythical norm . . . varies along multiple axes, and so do the consequences. (1989: 302, fn. 13)

Ellsworth saw that "there are no social positions exempt from becoming oppressive to others . . . any group – any position – can move into the oppressor role," depending upon specific historical contexts and situations' (1989: 322). Mills states that '[a] person's power relations in language are constantly the subject of negotiation' (1992: 7). Citing feminist analyses that stress power 'as a relation rather than as a quality or an imposition' (8), Mills concludes that '[i]f power is seen as a process, resistance to it is easier to consider than has been the case so far with feminist theorizing, which has run the risk of depicting women as passive victims' (1992: 8).

Likewise, Benhabib criticizes certain postmodern definitions of the Other:

any definition of a group's identity not in terms of its own constitutive experiences but in terms of its victimization by others reduces that group's subjectivity to the terms of the dominant discourse and does not allow for an appreciation of the way in which it may challenge that discourse. (1992: 83, fn. 5)

Teachers, supervisors and their respective roles must be re-examined in this light.

These more complex views of hegemony, resistance and the subjectification of the Other are actually more liberating than simpler, earlier definitions. Such views permit a constructed subjectivity in the place of normalizing categories and encourage an historical (both synchronic and diachronic) and relational examination of those structures and processes in which one is embedded and to which one contributes. It has been shown that not all teachers are passive victims at supervisors' hands, at least not this teacher with this supervisor, and if the possibility exists for one teacher to resist her supervisor, that potential must be said to exist for all teachers, whether they realize it or not.

Conclusion

From a deconstructed perspective of resistance Bea resisted her supervisor – whether or not she was conscious of what she was doing, whether or not she was part of a larger collective with a progressive agenda. Though supervision discourses may well be some of the dominant discourses in schools, Bea was able to invoke counter-discourses successfully in this case.

This teacher's resistance is ripe with implications for supervisors and supervision. Resistance, rather than being categorically and transcendently defined, ought to be examined for its meaning and potential, that is, assuming supervisors are interested in emancipation rather than oppression for themselves and for teachers. Moments of resistance may take any of several trajectories. Supervisors and teachers might agree to concentrate on areas of agreement, rather than needlessly expending valuable time and energy in contestation. Teachers, knowing that the possibility for resistance exists, could become more active in the construction of their relationships with supervisors, even in defining supervision itself. Teachers need to take responsibility for supervision.

If the promise of this type of supervision was ever realized, conferences would then approximate Benhabib's moral conversation, 'in which the capacity to reverse perspectives, that is the willingness to reason from the others' point of view, and the sensitivity to hear their voice is paramount' (1992: 8). There must be a willingness on both parties' part to enter into such a dialogue, but supervisors, together with teachers, must work to establish the contexts and nurture the relationships conducive to such conversation. As Benhabib states:

In conversation, I must know how to listen, I must know how to understand your point of view, I must learn to represent to myself the world and the other as you see them. If I cannot listen, if I cannot understand, and if I cannot represent, the conversation stops, develops into an argument, or maybe never gets started. (1992: 52)

Such conversations are the subject of Chapter 6, and will be dealt with in much greater detail there, where the rationales for and principles of such supervisor-teacher conversations will be elaborated. This approach to supervision is termed dialogic supervision, and takes M. M. Bakhtin's writings on dialogism as its starting point. However, before attempting that project, the reader will be treated to a midpoint theory or approach to supervision, situationally-contexted supervision. Both these approaches take what has been learned from the previous studies and apply it; the first, Chapter 5, is a much more practical application, the second, Chapter 6, is more theoretical.

Notes

- 1 Deconstruction is used not in the strict Derridian sense, but in a more colloquial one: '[D]econstruction . . . [is] an attempt to grasp the conflicting heterogeneities of language, rewriting its heteroglot difference as precisely the impossibility of a master-discourse, the impossibility of an invulnerable metalanguage' (White 1984).
- 2 It is Giroux's belief that resistance must also be intentional.
- 3 There are, fortunately, a few notable exceptions; see for example Blumberg (1980), Blumberg and Amidon (1965), Blumberg and Jonas (1987), Munro (1991) and Smyth (1991a, 1991c).
- 4 These three processes – objectification, rationalization and commodification – are what West (1990: 35) refers to as 'major impediments of the radical libertarian and democratic projects of the new cultural politics'. Objectification transforms living beings into manipulable objects. Rationalization fosters and supports 'bureaucratic hierarchies that impose impersonal rules and regulations in order to increase efficiency, be they defined in terms of better service or better surveillance'. Commodification makes teachers susceptible to 'market forces . . . that centralize resources and powers and promote cultures of consumption that view people [teachers] as mere spectral consumers and passive citizens'. Commodification of the original form of clinical supervision is discussed at length by Noreen Garman (1990: 202–3).
- 5 Goodman (1988: 213), incorporating critical theory and a feminist perspective on the disenfranchisement of teachers, notes the irony that 'much of the recent blame for the shortcomings of our present education in this country has fallen on teachers (rather than on community leaders, economic funding priorities, cultural values, etc.) who happen to be mostly poorly paid working women with little power in schools or society.'
- 6 'Critical theory' is used here as an inclusive, umbrella term. Others delineate the differences between 'critical theory', 'critical pedagogy' and 'emancipatory education' in far more detail than I can here (e.g. see Ellsworth 1989; Burbules and Rice 1991; Burbules 1992).
- 7 Recall that Goodwin and Heritage (1990: 288) define an acknowledgment token as use of 'uh huh', 'OK', 'uh hum', and so on that 'projects (but does not require) the

continuation of another speaker's talk. Simultaneously it usually displays an analysis of the other speaker's prior talk as being incomplete so far.'

- 8 The readily available us/them distinction of teacher culture is one available counter-discourse. These notions of (supervisory) discourses and (teacher) counter-discourses might be cases of what Friedrich (1989: 307) terms 'linguacultural ideology': 'Linguacultural ideology . . . [is] located in the unconscious or subconscious of the speaker and speaker collectivities'.
- 9 This particular segment also highlights the collective group estimation of Faye's role as supervisor and hints at a normative response to it: that subterfuge was permissible in protecting oneself from the potentially negative supervisor's gaze.
- 10 Hargreaves (1990) and Kanpol (1988) describe the tensions between teacher and administrator 'cultures'. Kanpol found teachers' perceptions to be that teachers are adept and administrators are inept. Kanpol (1991: 140-1) writes that this group norm reinforces what teacher solidarity was evident in the group of teachers he studied. Such taken-for-granted beliefs may, however, serve hegemonic ends when they stereotype and thereby constrain others', for example, supervisors', self-determination (see Burbules 1986: 97).
- 11 This particular comment reflects the heteroglossia, or 'multivoicedness', of Bea's positionality (Bakhtin 1981a). Both the internal and the external dialogic nature of this utterance are apparent, for as Bakhtin wrote: 'The word in language is half someone else's' (Bakhtin 1981a: 293).

For more on Bakhtin and application of a Bakhtinian perspective to supervision, see Chapter 6.

- 12 See McDermott and Tylbor (1983) for a discussion of collusion as a necessary condition of conversation.
- 13 In his foreword to de Certeau's (1986) *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other*, Godzich comments on de Certeau's project of demonstrating there to be *multiple* discourses and *multiple* oppositions to them. He writes: 'This other, which forces discourses to take the meandering appearance that they have, is not a magical or a transcendental entity; it is discourse's mode of relation to its own historicity in the moment of its utterance' (p. xx).
- 14 I hesitate to delineate, once and for all, the transcendental characteristics of resistance, of any type of resistance. I have shown, I believe, how teacher resistance to supervision can be *accomplished*. I have not, nor will I, list the defining, essential elements.

Instructional Supervision from a Situational Perspective

Veteran supervisors, having matured in their professional role, often reach a plateau and may have trouble advancing beyond it. The field of supervision, its advocates and theorists, is partially responsible for this state of affairs. This responsibility also must be extended to the wider contexts within which supervisors and teachers work, however. Theorists' promotion of models of supervisory practice as panaceas, and practitioners' overreliance upon such models limits the horizon of possibility of what supervision may accomplish. This is the 'mindscape' of supervision (Sergiovanni 1985).

However, reflective practitioners correctly perceive that any model of supervision is only a step on the path to a fuller conceptualization of both supervision and classroom life. This seems true both for the individual supervisor and for the field of supervision as a whole. As one veteran central office supervisor told me, 'You need to begin where you are; and, hopefully, you'll move on from there.' This maxim has become widely accepted regarding the developmental growth of teachers (Glickman 1990). It is an assumption of the present work that this maxim also holds true for supervisors and supervision.

In recent years, educational theorists and researchers have begun to examine school occurrences by paying close attention to their situational particulars (i.e. the numerous contexts and moment-to-moment processes of school life). Within the domain of instruction, this perspective has been informed by ethnographies of classroom life and the moment-to-moment accomplishment of pedagogical strategies, both tacit and explicit (McDermott 1976; Bremme and Erickson 1977; Mehan 1979; Dorr-Bremme 1990). Recent efforts in curriculum theory have examined curriculum implementation from a situational perspective, leading Catherine Cornbleth (1990: 13) to refer to curriculum implementation a 'contextualized social process'.

Though curriculum and instruction – particularly their development – are within the action domain of supervisors (Oliva 1989; Glickman 1990), supervision has yet to incorporate approaches or methods that address all the complexities of curriculum and instruction as they actually unfold in real classrooms, in real time. As if by definition, a model of supervision highlights a certain epistemology and its related pedagogy, while neglecting or rejecting others. While it is doubtful that any model of supervision could capture *all* situational particulars, what is needed is an approach to supervision that more closely

honors the complexity and uniqueness of each classroom, teacher and the interpersonal relationships of those involved – in short, one that is responsive to the numerous contexts of schooling.

In this chapter, I introduce just such an approach to supervision, 'situationally-contexted supervision'. This term is, at best, problematical. Although other terms such as 'ecological supervision' were considered, I think the term 'situationally-contexted supervision' captures the essence of the approach I propose here (though it doesn't roll off the tongue especially easily). It is unfortunate that, as my colleague Ed Pajak (personal communication, April 23, 1991) has pointed out, this formulation may be dismissed out-of-hand by those who may equate situationally-contexted supervision with utilitarian supervision – an amoral approach that encourages use of whatever works simply because it works. That is definitely not the case here, where the actors' beliefs and feelings, informed by philosophical and moral considerations, are included in the concepts of 'situation' and 'context'.¹

Throughout the remainder of this chapter, I will develop the rationale for the situational perspective and conjecture how such an approach may be operationalized. First, I will present a *brief* history of supervision (an extension of the discussion begun in the introduction). Second, I will detail the rationale for a situational approach, including examination of beliefs about teaching, learning and supervision. Third, I will present a vision of what supervision from a situational perspective may look like. This is the 'what' and 'how' of situationally-contexted supervision. Included in this section is a discussion of the 'action domains' of supervisors, teachers and others, as well as suggestions as to how an interested, reflective practitioner may proceed to incorporate this new approach in his or her work. Finally, I will present some of the implications of such an approach. These implications include, but are not limited to, those for professional relationships in schools, school-university collaboration, professional development (for example, preservice and in-service teacher education), shared governance and site-based decision making, and the redesign or redefinition of teachers' work.

The Evolution of Supervision and Supervisory Thought

The history of supervision profoundly affects current supervisory practice. This is especially true in the US (a case with which I have firsthand knowledge), where newer approaches never completely banish older approaches from the field – they just seem to push the older approaches underground. Still, the history of supervision illustrates a growth in the complexity of the process and its theoretical underpinnings (Karier 1982; Bolin and Panaritis 1992). Early supervisory efforts, known as supervision by committee and later, administrative monitoring, were quite simple compared with supervision today. In earlier days, the person(s) designated as supervisor(s) simply observed a teacher and

decided on the spot to fire or retain that teacher. No reasons needed to be given and no documentation was required.

Slowly, administrative monitoring gave way to other forms of supervision. A turning point in supervisory practice came with the dissemination of the practice referred to as clinical supervision (Goldhammer 1969; Cogan 1973; Garman 1990; Acheson and Gall 1992). Most recent innovations in supervision have incorporated aspects of the clinical model. For example, Hunter's (1973, 1980, 1983) supervisory model, Glatthorn's (1983) differentiated supervision, and Glickman's (1990) developmental supervision have evolved from clinical supervision, as have the various approaches termed 'peer coaching', 'peer supervision', and 'peer consultation'.

Noreen Garman (1990), a student of Morris Cogan – who, along with Robert Goldhammer popularized clinical supervision – has critiqued recent developments of the clinical approach. Both she and others (e.g. Retallick 1986; St Maurice 1987) have criticized these adaptations of the clinical model for being overly technicist or, as Garman wrote, 'narrow instrumental versions' (1990: 202) of the original.

Though Garman (1990) leveled the same criticism at both Glatthorn's (1983) differentiated supervision and Glickman's (1990) developmental supervision, to my mind these two approaches represent progress within the larger field of supervision. Glatthorn presented a number of options to those with supervisory responsibilities. Under the term differentiated supervision, Glatthorn brought together administrative monitoring, clinical supervision, collegial professional development and individual professional development, thus allowing teachers, administrators and supervisors some choice. True, there was nothing new in this constellation, but Glatthorn's contribution chipped away at the 'one-size-fits-all' mindset.

Glickman (1990) encouraged supervisors to consider both individual *and* collective staff readiness when selecting a supervisory approach. This was one of his contributions to the field. Additionally, Glickman expanded the tasks of supervision from the three conventional tasks – staff development, instructional development and curriculum development (Oliva 1989) – to five, with his inclusion of group development and action research.

Although the models discussed above represent advances in the theory and practice of supervision, they do not address the current complexities of schooling and the supervisor's role in relation to them. Nor do they take into account the contextual or situational factors which figure prominently in teachers' and students' intellectual growth and the role of the school in that growth. The role of school in children's lives and the processes of schooling were examined, 20 years apart, by Carl Rogers (1971) and Elliot Eisner (1991) in 'Can Schools Grow Persons?' and 'What Really Counts in Schools', respectively.

How far have we really come in that time? What is the work needed to be done in order to give supervision theory and practice currency within modern contexts and modern schools? These are the questions that propel the discussion throughout the remainder of this chapter and the next.

Relationships Between Teaching, Learning and Supervision

That teaching, learning and supervision are interrelated is not at issue. What is of interest is how they are related and what the ramifications of that relationship might be for supervisors.

Relationships between Supervision and Teaching

As has been reported in previous chapters, one of the most widely accepted definitions of supervision is 'the improvement of instruction' (Weller 1971: 4). Though this definition begs the question of what constitutes instruction, it is illustrative of a long history of attempts to define supervision. Most of those attempts at a definition have focused on the teacher's behavior; relatively few have been concerned with students' behaviors; and fewer still concerned themselves with the learning environment or opportunities for engagement by the student.

Various authors within the field have used the previous definition, or others like it, to justify their inclusion (or exclusion) of various tasks when writing of the role or function of the supervisor. For example, it is not too difficult to justify including curriculum development and staff development with instructional development (Oliva 1989), considering the profound effects the former have upon the latter. The extension of the tasks of supervision to include group development and action research (Glickman 1990) is certainly justifiable given that these processes have an impact on what happens in the classroom. However, as can be seen from this brief treatment, supervision's ultimate impact has generally been envisioned as influencing instruction, teaching. Such conceptions of supervision, with their focus on *teachers' behaviors*, are unfortunate because they erroneously equate teaching with learning.²

Beginning supervisors are often faced with the dilemma of deciding what to talk about in a conference with the teacher.⁴ They may be befuddled by the complexity of the classroom when viewed from the observer's perspective, or they may naively weight all classroom occurrences equally. Anthropologist Frederick Gearing and co-author Wayne Hughes (Gearing and Hughes 1975) have written of classroom observation that:

About any human scene as complex and as fast-moving as a classroom there is an incredible amount of information to be had. Presumably any thinkable item of accurate information is potentially important to some theoretical purpose. Of all that, however, only a small proportion is practically important . . . [W]hat to the practical man [or woman, teacher or supervisor] is useful information? The answer is reasonably clear. Useful information is *strategic*, that is, it is information about critical moments which reoccur in a place like, in this instance, a classroom; and useful information is *pointed*, that is it is

precisely focused on some specific feature of all that is going on at those critical moments. (p. 15; emphasis in original)

There are so many interesting things happening in a classroom that any one of them could become a topic for a supervision conference, but are all those occurrences equally pertinent? I think not.

Veteran supervisors, with the knowledge gained through observing thousands of classroom hours, may begin to sense what matters in teaching and learning. Some few are able to see through all the hubbub to what matters. Some never do. Supervisors who rely solely upon the *techniques* of supervision and their complementary models may in fact become developmentally blocked – unable to move to more advanced stages of conceptualization. For such supervisors, supervision may become mere ritual (Garman 1990) and of little use to teachers or students. These 'blocked' supervisors may even hamper teacher development (Grimmett and Housego 1983).

Teachers' reactions to supervisors' intrusions are legion, but not unworthy of comment:

my principal and I are seeing the same events, but, like two witnesses to anything, we see them differently. Put us together and you might have a winning team – theoretically. But, while I have seen my classroom through his eyes, I don't think he has seen it through mine . . . I want him to stop writing and simply sense the rightness or wrongness of what's happening in my classroom. (Juska 1991: 470)

Supervision based solely upon paper-and-pencil classroom observation techniques often misses the mark, according to teachers, and evaluation systems based on such observations fare no better. 'Spot checks, check lists, and standard measures of learning (predictable artifacts of institutionalized monitoring) tend to gloss over the important intellectual nuances of classroom interaction' (Kilbourn 1991: 735). This inability to capture the 'important intellectual nuances of classroom interaction' results, in part, from the unreflective application of models of teaching and their supervisory counterparts, the 'one size fits all' mindset. Even systems of peer coaching or supervision suffer to the extent that their advocates and practitioners blindly (i.e. unreflectively) adopt such models of teaching and observation (Smith and Acheson 1991; Fullan 1992).

The shortcomings of observation systems and teacher evaluations based on them can also be explained by concepts borrowed from the field of social psychology. Roadblocks to observers' perceptual accuracy result from: fundamental attribution errors (Ross 1977; Gardner 1991: 171); errors due to the 'actor-observer effect' (Brehm and Kassin 1990: 115–7); and errors resulting from the 'cognitive busyness' of 'active perceivers' (Gilbert *et al.* 1988: 733).

A fundamental attribution error occurs because observers are prone to attribute causes of events to the actor's inherent characteristics (e.g. he is a bad

teacher, or she doesn't like children) and to ignore the situational influences. (Teachers, too, are prone to the negative effects of these errors when observing and assessing students.) It is interesting, though, that as actors we generally characterize our own actions as responses to situational factors, while attributing other's actions to inherent personal factors. This is the actor-observer effect (Brehm and Kassin 1990). Actors are more cognizant of situational causes than observers. These negative effects are amplified by 'cognitive busyness' (Gilbert *et al.* 1988) on the observer's part, as when an observer is not only observing, but recording, coding, categorizing and analyzing as well. These negative consequences of observation and attribution are remedied by correctives the observer applies as part of the perception process. The correction requires that the observer adjust his or her attributions with situational information. If the normal process is hampered by cognitive busyness or by a lack of time for reflection, erroneous attributions are likely to stand uncorrected. This is because the characterization or attribution process is more automatic than the correction, which involves more deliberate reasoning and is a 'higher order process' (Gilbert *et al.* 1988: 738). A situationally-contexted approach to supervision inverts the typical ground/figure frame for observation by highlighting the ground to a greater extent. At the same time, situationally-contexted supervision holds the promise of being able to empower supervisors and other participants to action within a much broader arena than had heretofore been the case.

Supervision, Teaching and Learning: Understanding the Context

Liston and Zeichner have contributed to a situational understanding of classrooms for those involved in teacher education and curriculum development. They wrote:

If we can explain an occurrence in the classroom by appealing to the actions and intentions of the teacher, student, or any other relevant actor, then we feel as if we have understood and adequately explained the situation . . . [However] as former elementary teachers and now as teachers of teachers, we rarely have found the individualistic orientation to provide an adequate account of classroom life. In order to act effectively we have had to recognize the influence of the social context. (1990: 611-2)

Though their intended audience was university teacher educators, the relevance of Liston and Zeichner's remarks for supervisors (and teachers) is clear. Atomistic views of the teaching-learning environment that privilege teachers and teachers' intentions are no longer useful. This carries profound implications for the supervisor's role in curriculum and instructional development.

Research that highlights the contextual or situational nature of teaching

and learning has generally benefited from a grounding in sociolinguistics (e.g. Green and Wallat 1981) or educational anthropology (e.g. McDermott 1977) and the related methodologies of conversation analysis, ethnomethodology, ethnography of communication and symbolic interactionism. What these studies have in common is their demonstration of teaching and learning to be moment-by-moment accomplishments in relation to a dynamic context or situation (i.e. that the context is ever-unfolding). These studies show how the participants both contribute and orient to the contexts of learning. Specifically, participants in an interaction such as a school lesson orient to 'contextualization cues' that are 'recognizable to a researcher' (Dorr-Bremme 1990: 382) and that let them know what is happening now. In addition, such studies examine the relevance participants' assumptions and behaviors have for how situations, acts, scenes or lessons unfold. The relevance of these research perspectives for supervision should not be underrated. As Bremme and Erickson wrote:

A participant must 'read' others' verbal and nonverbal behaviors together, simultaneously, to make sense of what they are meaning and to make sense of what social situation is happening now . . . But newcomers to a classroom may have difficulty doing all this in the ways experienced members do. *The tacit and often subtle rules these members know and use in making sense may not be immediately accessible to the new student, the occasionally visiting supervisor, the educational researcher, or other neophytes . . .* They may not see immediately what behaviors are appropriate when, according to those *microcultural* rules in use among this particular classroom group. (1977: 154, emphasis added)

Office-bound supervisors, or those who lack intimate knowledge of teachers, their students and the conditions and assumptions under which they operate, are prone to misinterpret classroom occurrences.

Education as a field has just begun, through the work of a few, to address the issue of what students need to know in order to act appropriately in learning situations, and how to teach those skills (e.g. Sternberg *et al.* 1990). Those skills, though seldom addressed explicitly, are powerful determiners of scholastic success or failure (McDermott 1976; Mehan 1980). Research has yet to address what it is teachers (or supervisors) need to know to act appropriately in those same learning situations so as to be judged competent.

Expanding the Mandate of Supervision

Unfortunately, those of us who teach and write about supervision have offered precious few alternatives to teachers, supervisors and other classroom observers who are interested in affecting what goes on in schools.⁴ To that end, I suggest that a situationally-contexted supervision approach would address those

shortcomings inherent in conventional models of supervision. Such an approach broadens the supervisor's mandate to include attention to the contexts of learning, broadly defined. Indeed, in ethnographic studies I have conducted (Waite 1990/91) supervision practitioners understood their mandate to be that of ensuring students' physical *and* psychological well-being. This shift in emphasis away from attending solely to *teachers' behaviors* opens the supervisor's action domain to consideration of classroom climate, the hidden curriculum and its effects, issues of equity, participant structures (Phillips 1972),⁵ functions of language, and issues of social control and reproduction (Dorr-Bremine 1990; Liston and Zeichner, 1990), along with the more traditional focuses of supervision. Such a reconceptualization of supervision allows the supervisor to pay attention to what seems to matter in the school-life of children *and* their teachers. Such a broadened view of supervision would also increase the amount of attention teachers give these important aspects of life in school. There have been a few supervision theorists, however, who proposed that the supervisor's mandate include consideration of learning environments and/or opportunities (e.g. Wiles 1950; Goldhammer 1969). Goldhammer broached a number of these issues in the first chapter of his seminal work. Unfortunately, these issues have largely been ignored or forgotten by subsequent theorists in the field.

The Situational Supervisor

The folk wisdom of teaching holds that each year is different, that every new day brings its own trials and cause for wonderment. This is a manifestation of the belief that each situation is unique. What are the elements that contribute to the uniqueness of situations and what is the relevance for supervision?

One of the assumptions of the present work is that *every* aspect of a context or situation has *possible* relevance for teaching and learning and thus for supervision. This is not to say that *all* contextual considerations have relevance, or an *equal* relevance, for what goes on in schools and their classrooms. Some contextual considerations have a disproportionate influence, negative or positive, on the academic lives of children.

The supervisor's principal task in the situationally-contexted approach is to augment those situational factors that have a positive influence on learning and to seek to diminish those whose influence is negative. The supervisor cannot, however, assume beforehand which factors are important, as would be the case with an indiscriminate application of any observational instrument or supervision model. Teasing out the relevant situational factors must be done inductively by honoring the uniqueness of situations. The action a supervisor takes to remedy situational deficits must be taken in response to the situational particulars.

Consider an example from my own experience. As a supervisor of interns, a 'clinical professor', I had occasion to work with a mature returning student

who was also a mother of two. This teacher already had had a successful career as a social worker, where, in her own words, she had worked with 'juvenile delinquents in a juvenile detention center'. I judged her to be knowledgeable of curricular issues, instructional techniques and cognitive development, as well as professionally competent, energetic and concerned. In short, there was not much I could show her about teaching. However, she had been placed in a rural setting. The teacher-administrator at the site was due to retire at the end of that year and, by all accounts, was deeply conservative.

Due to my supervisee's assertiveness and her profound belief that she knew what was right for her students, she often found herself at odds with her administrator. Besides attempting to get this teacher to practice more cooperative interpersonal skills, I knew that my major focus was to be in working with/on the administrator, trying to neutralize her so the teacher could teach without interference and not suffer any negative consequences. Though the relative success of my efforts is open to question, I have no doubt that I proceeded in the only professionally responsible way that I could, given the situation. Clearly, I could have discharged my responsibilities at less psychic cost to myself by simply observing the teacher and conferencing with her. To my mind, however, this strategy simply would have been ritualized supervision.

Reconceptualizing supervision along situational lines increases the number of action domains open to the supervisor. Traditionally, supervisors' power has been defined as stemming from a *staff* relationship with teachers as opposed to a *line* relationship, the latter being hierarchical in nature and bureaucratically grounded (Pajak 1989, 1992). According to this view, supervisors are in no direct line of authority over teachers, yet they report to other administrators. Consideration of alternative notions of power, such as 'facilitative power' (Dunlap and Goldman 1991), and other redefinitions of power brought about by feminist thinkers, permits a re-examination of the conventional top-down power configuration. Facilitative power is different from *power over* and can be considered to be *power through* or *power with*. Facilitative power, according to Dunlap and Goldman, 'reflects a process that, by creating or sustaining favorable conditions, allows . . . [others] to enhance their individual and collective performance' (1991: 13). Supervisors, borrowing from this concept, influence *all* those with whom they are in contact, not just teachers.⁶ As the personal example above shows, supervisors can and should work to affect key actors no matter what their position may be, for all these actors have an effect upon the situation, the context, of teaching and learning. Situationally-contexted supervision, as I have portrayed it here, is a modified form of organization development (Schmuck and Runkel 1985). Of all forms of teacher professional development, including the various peer models, organization development is the most respectful of teachers' autonomy and the least prescriptive (Smith and Acheson 1991).

In proposing a situational perspective on supervision, I am encouraging supervisors to be aware – to the extent humanly possible – of all contextual

factors. These factors have a chronology, and supervisors must attempt to see the big picture, holistically and over time. They must understand the past and envision the future. Supervisors must first negotiate the local culture in order to achieve their positions of responsibility (Waite 1992c, and Chapter 1, this volume). 'Culture', of course, has several dimensions or levels: national, community, professional, school, interpersonal and intrapersonal.⁷ Each of these dimensions also has historical roots of which the supervisor should be aware. Supervisors already know, at a tacit level at least, much of what they need to know. I suggest that they make this knowledge explicit.

Self-knowledge on the supervisor's part is especially important in the situational perspective because the supervisor is considered to be part of the context, so the supervisor's effect upon the scene and its actors becomes relevant. Once the supervisor's tacit knowledge has been made explicit, the supervisor operating from a situational perspective would concentrate on aspects of the situation yet to be discovered.

Practicing a situationally-contextual approach, the supervisor could begin at the macro-level in an investigation of what matters to the participants in their teaching and learning. Following such a procedure, the supervisor would examine national, state, community and school norms for their influence upon instruction. This method of supervisory investigation, though informative, would leave the supervisor with a near infinite number of factors and considerations, only a few of which may have a local impact upon learning. Though all professionals should be consciously aware of the environment in which they operate, micro-level observation and analysis is more apt to yield immediately relevant insights into problems and suggestions on how to proceed toward solutions.

This type of observation and analysis may be done through involvement of participants in ongoing action research (McCutcheon and Jung 1990) or participatory research (Hall 1984; Latapi 1988). These methods involve the participants in a systematic examination of their situation, as well as their role in that situation. Difficulties may be encountered by the shift from hierarchical role definitions engendered by a commitment to action research, especially by autocratic supervisors and administrators. The ethnographic literature is replete with references to the attitude the researcher should take. Agar (1980) alternately referred to the ethnographer's role as a 'one-down position' or as a 'student' or 'child' role. He wrote that the advantages for a (qualitative) researcher in adopting these roles is that 'both child and student are learning roles; they are roles whose occupants will make mistakes. . . . They can be expected to ask a lot of questions. They need to be taught' (1980: 69). These roles strike me as antithetical to many administrators' self-perceptions. Ethnography, as an example of a method supervisor and teacher-researchers may choose, has the advantage of being

of all forms of scientific knowledge . . . the most open, the most compatible with a democratic way of life, the least likely to produce a

world in which experts control knowledge at the expense of those who are studied. (Hymes 1981: 57)

The consideration of who controls knowledge and its forms of production is apropos to the current discussion. Traditionally, the knowledge generated from supervisors' classroom observations served the supervisors' (i.e. bureaucratic) ends.⁸ Even today, in innovative programs such as the Program for School Improvement – a Georgia-based program started by Carl Glickman and built on the ideas of shared governance and action research – when school teams are encouraged to practice action research, they overwhelmingly opt to consider only quantitative data (e.g. attendance records and standardized test scores).

McCutcheon and Jung (1990) have written of action research and the perspectives informing it. According to these authors, there are three distinct traditions within action research: the positivist, the interpretivist and the critical science traditions. Simply to engage in action research does not ensure democratic participation in the selection of its focus and control of the knowledge it generates. I suggest that schools practicing positivistic action research and using only quantitative data may disenfranchise the majority of their teachers and students. Depending on their genesis and nature, such data and methods may prove inaccessible to most teachers and students and hence not inform immediate local concerns.

In action research in schools the supervisor may serve as leader, facilitator, resource or 'critical friend' (Ingvarson 1986). This new supervisory role is strikingly similar to the researcher role adopted by Elliott (1990) in his work with teachers in their examination of their classrooms and pedagogy, and similar to the supervisory role suggested by Grimmatt *et al.* (1992). This role involves the supervisor as a co-equal participant, devoid of hierarchical power.

Action research projects may include various methods and focuses and are highly appropriate for school settings. Hymes (1982: 104) stated it well in his rationale for 'ethnolinguistic' studies of schooling: 'In any given case, of course, everything depends upon discovering which dimensions are relevant and active.' He cautioned, however, that local knowledge is seldom sufficient in the examination of situations or cultures:

It is never the case that knowledge is served adequately by accounts solely from self-study. The 'native' or insider has invaluable insights and interpretations to make that the outsider may be unable to provide. The outsider has a distance and strangeness to the situation that may provide necessary insights and interpretations as well. (Hymes 1982: 8)

The supervisor has a place as an outsider, or, perhaps more accurately, as an insider/outsider. Outsider knowledge is never sufficient without the complementary insider's perspective. The supervisor, then, should seek to make

explicit those rules, norms, members' understandings and strategies operant in each scene witnessed. This, as I have suggested, must be done with the members' participation. The degree of members' participation should be problematic for the supervisor. Should participants direct the study? Should the supervisor direct the study? Or should it be a negotiated process? A possible answer is found in the process of participatory research where all actors would have a say in what to study, what tentative solutions to implement, and how to evaluate them.

Getting at the participants' taken-for-granted beliefs and actions requires a commitment of time. There is no room for hasty judgment, just as there is no ready observational instrument that will always be relevant. In fact, the supervisor may take some time in simply fashioning a situationally relevant observation instrument or protocol, or in combining several already at hand when appropriate.

Gearing and Hughes (1975) have provided three versions of the ethnographic method for self-study by teachers, principals and supervisors. These different versions of ethnography for educators are distinguished both by the amount of time educators can devote to them and by their depth or fidelity to the ethnographic method. Briefly, the most simple process begins with the identification of a concern, for example, students who talk too much. The next step is to specify the *actors*, the *behaviors* and the *context*. Do only working-class boys (or some other readily identifiable children) talk too much? When? What is the interactional environment? What follows is an observation and provisional mapping of a routine associated with the concern – those actions by those actors that immediately precede the 'problem' and those that follow. This step is repeated until the researcher – teacher, student or supervisor – is fairly certain that what is found is an accurate analysis of the routine. This mapping is then assessed, and possible solutions should recommend themselves. Gearing and Hughes point out that possible solutions should be judged as they bear 'on your professional goals, your personal morality, and the political realities of your situation' (1975: 27). Future actions or solutions should then be monitored, possibly with the ethnographic protocol already developed.

This is one approach to the study of the situational reality in schools and classrooms, action research is another, and 'force field analysis' is still another (Schmuck and Runkel 1985: 222–3 Johnson and Johnson 1991: 239–42). Further study and 'self-work' may be needed by the supervisor seeking to operate from a situational perspective. Such a supervisor may wish to take courses at the local university in qualitative research methods or consult the voluminous literature base on qualitative research in education (see Erickson 1986a).

Implications of the Situationally-Contexted Approach

Implementation of a situationally-contexted approach carries with it implications that range from the immediate and local to the long term and holistic.

The first implication is the change in thinking about supervision, what it entails and its scope, or action domain. Supervisors come to a situationally-contexted understanding because they see that atomistic thinking about effective teaching captures only a minute part of 'effective learning'. Supervisors operating within the conventional paradigm have become as deskilled as teachers have (Apple 1986). In order to 'reskill' supervisors and teachers, supervisors must come to a more mature, that is, political, sense of their action domain and their part in it. Supervisors must communicate this understanding to those with whom they work, as, at the same time, they must operate from that understanding.

Also, the change in the supervisory mindscape prompted by adoption of the situationally-contexted approach – which, after all, is simply another way of seeing – frees teachers (and students) from blame and its associated guilt. Both these negative affective states can freeze teachers, preventing them from acting to better the conditions of schooling. The situationally-contexted approach views teaching, indeed all interaction, as 'collusional' (McDermott and Goldman 1983) – the result of conditions that organize participation. In such a view, blame has no utility.

Supervisors must also understand the arena of teachers' work. They must understand teachers, their personal and professional biography – a facet of the context within which both operate. Such an understanding allows the supervisor insight into how to involve the teacher and what to expect. Supervisors need to take the time necessary to understand the teacher's philosophical and pedagogical (ontological and epistemological) frames of reference. Rather than talking past each other in ritual exercises, conferences then become constructivist exercises in the sense that each party accepts and respects the phenomenological stance of the other with respect to the classroom and lesson. Often, as practiced now, the supervisor's reliance upon data collection or classroom observation instruments privileges the supervisor's evaluation of the lesson and the resultant conference demonstrates a power differential in the supervisor's favor (as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3).⁹ Such an approach takes time, however, supervisors will need to redesign their work to allow for such intensive interaction. Supervisors must become versed in the research skills spoken of here. Eventually, teachers and students may also practice those same skills.

Implementation of the situationally-contexted approach to supervision would necessitate, as well as foster, certain conditions in schools. This approach is highly suitable for schools with multicultural populations and those involved in reform and restructuring. Situationally-contexted supervision would encourage and inform efforts in decentralization, for example, site-based decision making and shared governance, transformational leadership, and teacher and student empowerment. The degree of adoption of a situationally-contexted approach would depend on personal, political and moral propensities, needs and desires. In its most basic form, a situationally-contexted supervisory approach may be enacted solely at the classroom level and involve discovery of and action upon the interactional processes constituting the local contexts of

learning. In its most complete and radical form, situationally-contexted supervision could involve entire schools and their populations in social activism.

The situationally-contexted approach entails a fundamental change in the definition of the nature of school, and participants' roles and relationships. An essential dynamic present here is that of reflexivity, that is, that changes in parts affect changes in the whole. This being the case, attention to any or all of the following areas would move schools toward the ideals I envision. A point of clarification: *I am not proposing that action be exerted equally on all areas simultaneously.* The amount and focus of participant action should be determined by an examination of the situational factors, their relative effect and the possibility of successfully influencing those factors. Some constraints are more resistant to change.

Implications for the Nature of School

The nature of school is one of the most fundamental questions addressed by the situationally-contexted approach. In line with Sarason (1990), the situationally-contexted approach promotes classrooms and their schools as centers of inquiry. Knowledge generated in this manner is not generated simply for its own sake, but to inform and better the educational efforts of all. The situationally-contexted approach highlights the *processes* as well as the outcomes of participatory, action-oriented research. Such research flattens the hierarchies of knowledge production and control (Deforge 1979) inherent in traditional supervisory relationships, encourages the redefinition of schools as communities (Sergiovanni 1992), and, at the same time, invites connection with other communities (McTaggart 1991a, 1991b). Schools could become centers of inquiry not only for their resident populations, but for the larger society as well.

Constraints: Time and Freedom

Time becomes a primary concern. Teachers today are constrained by time and space (see Chapter 1, this volume; also Hargreaves 1994) and suffer from 'intensification' of their work (Hargreaves 1991). Intensification results in teachers who have less time for relaxation, less time to keep up with their field, fewer opportunities for collegial interaction, a dependency on outside experts, and who cut corners (Hargreaves 1991: 5). These space/time restrictions limit, among other things, teachers' access to information, and information is a facet of power.

If teaching and learning are hindered by traditional images of teachers standing in front of classes and holding forth, these notions need to be 'demythologized' (Palmer 1969: 28-30, 44). Schools and districts attempting innovative educational programs soon come up against constraints imposed

by conventional thinking about time, space and the nature of teaching and learning. Such schools often seek to 'buy time' to loosen the shackles of the clock to allow more flexibility for teachers and students. For example, some schools now operate flexible lunchroom schedules and brownbag 'carry out' service, where student messengers take lunches back to their classrooms so everyone may eat and learn without disruption. Other alternatives need to be considered as well.

Teachers need greater freedom of movement inside and outside of the school, with and without students. As mentioned, if teachers are to participate in knowledge production, that is, research, then they must have access to information. Granting teachers access to information might finally permit them to have telephones within easy reach in their classrooms (not to mention access to other communication technology).¹⁰

The situational approach to supervision would require community education regarding the definition of teaching, learning and teachers' and students' work. This may be accomplished by engaging the community and its members in dialogue concerning the nature of school and the roles, responsibilities, and relationships of students, parents, teachers and others. In this way, educational leadership, the current term for administration, might actually fulfill the promise implied by its name and truly become educational leadership, activism, for the community.¹¹

Integration and Democratization of Roles and Relationships

Out of necessity, supervisors must renegotiate their role *vis-à-vis* both the teacher and the administration. Supervisors are carriers of culture (as shown in Chapter 1). In traditional societies this role is granted much status. However in schools change, not maintenance of tradition, is the most often promoted priority. The danger here is that schools and newer generations of teachers and students may embrace change for the sake of change and, in a move toward the nihilistic, abandon those cultural ways that serve a positive end. Supervisors may be in the unique position both to encourage change and to preserve what is valuable in a school or community. This is another facet of the insider/outsider role mentioned earlier. Supervisors are in the position of perceiving broad goals and alternative futures and how particular schools, classrooms, teachers and students relate to these goals. Supervisors communicate across school sites and synthesize the information gained. They do this because of the position they hold in school organizations, but teachers could assume this supervisory function just as well, if able to redesign their work. This position could be filled by a teacher chosen on a rotating basis, just as some schools are experimenting with rotating principalships. Whoever assumes this role, however, must be able to see and communicate the whole, while also attending to the particular moment-to-moment and day-to-day practices.

The supervisor practicing a situationally-contexted approach should be able to see, and encourage others to see, how particular practices relate to the whole, theoretically and practically.

Administrators, too, must change or at least not openly and actively resist such change. If supervisors of instruction are the only administrators interested in the situationally-contexted approach, however, they must not be afraid to proceed. Other administrators then may become the focus of action – negative or positive contextual factors needing to be addressed.

If schools become centers of inquiry, they could assume a greater role in teacher training. Schools would gain status *vis-à-vis* universities and may actually engage university professors in research and teacher education on site, and in collaboration with students, teachers, supervisors and others. Such an approach has radical implications for staff development and would ameliorate the discontinuity presently found between preservice and in-service professional development (Holland *et al.* 1992).

True, this is an ideal end state. Initially, schools might wish to draw on the expertise of university professors in training supervisors and teachers to conduct research. Universities may grant certain teachers adjunct professor positions. Universities need to redefine for themselves what constitutes valid knowledge – would participatory, action-oriented research be appropriate for masters or doctoral-level study? Universities may wish to emphasize research skills in their teacher education programs. A loosening of credentialing requirements may be required if the lines between university and school are to be blurred. Schools may even look to credential their own teachers.

In this, the 'era of reform', such notions as those presented here have currency. What I propose is more than just another model of supervision. It is actually an alternative view of school, its relationship to those whom it purports to serve, and the relationships among its many populations. Supervisors and other concerned educators may begin locally, at the classroom level. Yet the situationally-contexted approach reaches beyond classroom walls. The ideal end state is to make of education a process at once reflective, democratic and a life-long activity, not just for students but for teachers as well.

Unfortunately, adoption of the supervisory processes outlined here will not make the supervisor's job easier, at least initially. It will, however, prove effective in addressing teachers' concerns about the relevance of supervisory intervention. For until supervision addresses the day-to-day and moment-to-moment particulars of teaching and learning in a way that respects the dignity of the participants, it will remain simply a ritual exercise in administrative meddling.

In the next chapter, I shall attempt to draw in broad strokes the next conceptual step toward the visions of school I have painted here. In discussing dialogic supervision, I push the limits of popular conceptions of supervision by drawing on ideas connected with postmodernism, communitarianism and feminism. Through that discussion, I offer some concrete, practical steps supervisors can take to bring supervision into the (post)modern world.

Notes

- 1 The term 'situationally-contexted supervision' certainly may, however, suffer from connotative associations with Hersey and Blanchard's (1982) 'situational leadership' (an approach that I read as overly behavioral).
- 2 For a discussion of teaching and its definitions, see Kilbourn (1991) and Nolan and Francis (1992). Gardner (1991) discusses various types of learning.
- 3 The discussion in this chapter will be concerned primarily with the 'what' – what to look for in classrooms and schools etc.; the next chapter will be more concerned with the 'how', that is, how can a supervisor interact with a teacher in face-to-face encounters in such a way that carries more potential for opening up, rather than shutting down, the dialogue.
- 4 Welcome exceptions are Nolan and Francis's (1992) 'Changing Perspectives in Curriculum and Instruction', with its implications for supervision, and Grimmer *et al.*'s (1992) 'The Transformation of Supervision'.
- 5 Participant structures are the resultant interactional forms – as occasioned by the norms, mores, rules etc. – in a particular milieu.
- 6 This notion is in keeping with an interactionist perspective (McDermott and Church 1976; McDermott 1977), whereby people in interaction jointly construct both their own and the other's identity and, through repeated and patterned interactional processes, contribute to the forms of larger social structures (Giddens 1984; Wilson 1991). Following this line of reasoning, students, teachers, principals and central office staff influence and are influenced by whomever they interact with, regardless of the other's social or institutional status.
- 7 See Wolcott's (1991) discussion of 'propriospect' for the distinction between shared and individual culture.
- 8 In all fairness to Keith Acheson and Mark Gall (Acheson and Gall 1992), they have consistently advocated the teacher's 'ownership' of the data.
- 9 To facilitate more collegial interaction between supervisor and teacher I propose a form of supervision I term 'dialogic supervision' (see Chapter 6), fashioned after the work of Mikhail M. Bakhtin (1981b), in which supervisors would forsake the use of an 'instrument' to simply be witness to a teaching episode. Supervisor and teacher would then mutually (re)construct the past lesson in dialogue, each from their own egocentric position with respect to the other.
- 10 Ironic, isn't it, that teachers (and their students) may not have access to the so-called information highway simply because their rooms don't have phone lines!
- 11 Such a stance by educators is not without risks. Witness the repressive reaction to such community activism visited on those educators in Chile, Guatemala, El Salvador, Haiti, Kenya, China and others who have had the courage to leave behind their ivory towers for participation in their communities' efforts at education and social justice. A situational perspective should aid in the discovery of barriers and the appropriate paths around them in response to local conditions.

Dialogic Supervision, or, Re-embedding Supervision within the Contexts of Change

So how can we be strangers, he's got no personality. He's just a clever imitation of people on TV. A line for every situation, he's learning trivia and tricks, having sex and eating cereal, wearing jeans and smoking cigarettes . . . I can be you and you can be me, in my mundo, mundo mambo. Everyone's happy and everyone's free, in my mundo, mundo mambo . . .

David Byrne, *Make Believe Mambo*

Introduction

In this chapter, supervision and supervisors are placed within their current contexts – contexts of reform, and contexts of what Anthony Giddens (1990) refers to as a radicalized modernity (other authors prefer terms like postmodernism and postmodernity to describe the current state of affairs). Seen within its current ambience, supervision is lacking and in need of rehabilitation. A new way of thinking about supervision and supervisor–teacher relationships as well as a process born of that new way of thinking are introduced here. That process is dialogic supervision.

Contexts

School reorganization takes many forms, some of which require redefinitions of conventional roles, relationships and responsibilities.¹ Within the contexts of reform, supervision and supervisors' roles must be re-examined and reconceptualized if supervisors are to participate in the dialogue of reformed and reforming schools. Profound systemic change must be accompanied by different forms of thought *and* action, and at all organizational and conceptual levels, if reform is to amount to more than a reactive patchwork of local remedies (Sarason 1990).

To this end, some authors have suggested fundamentally different visions

for schools. Sergiovanni (1992) and Etzioni (1993: 89–115), for example, apply communitarian ideals to schools and their reorganization. However, some serious considerations are neglected or glossed over in these communitarian visions of schools. For example, the words 'community' and 'communication' share the Latin root, *communis* (common).² Yet communication is neither explicitly addressed nor problematized in these idealized and romanticized treatments of community.

Anthony Giddens (1990) in *The Consequences of Modernity* warns us to 'avoid the romanticized view which has often surfaced in social analysis when traditional cultures are compared with the modern' (p. 101). He continues:

In conditions of modernity . . . human activities remain situated and contextualized. But the impact of . . . the separation of time and space, disembedding mechanisms, and institutional reflexivity . . . disengages some basic forms of trust relation from the attributes of local contexts . . . Place has become phantasmagoric because the structures by means of which it is constituted are no longer locally organized. The local and the global . . . have become inextricably intertwined (p. 108).

Some problematic aspects of community have entered the dialogue of postmodernism, neo-colonialism and discussions of the radical alterity of the Other. The relation between community and communication has been recognized by some. Lyotard (1993) claims that 'in theory, the human "we" doesn't precede but results from interlocation' – such interlocation being 'authorized by respect for the other'. In other words, communities result from communication (and other interrelational processes), not the other way around.

In defining the common, communities establish borders, borders which include some and exclude others. Sergiovanni (1992) writes of the establishment of norms in school communities, but fails to mention that norms are as likely to be repressive as they are to be nurturing, enabling or empowering.³ Instructional supervisors, teacher-leaders, and administrators involved in establishing, nurturing and maintaining school communities need a deep understanding of communication, for communication – understanding and employing it appropriately – is at the heart of change.⁴

Conceptions of communication have become more complex recently (Duranti and Goodwin, 1992), and yet there has been little application of these more complex communication concepts to schools, school leadership and supervision. The need is especially urgent today for schools are embedded within the contexts of modernity. Within the contexts of modernity, supervision is flawed – the systems, models and practices of conventional supervision are inappropriate to deal with teachers, instruction etc. today.⁵

A model of communication-based supervision derived from the work of the Russian scholar Mikhail Bakhtin (1981b) is here proposed as a corrective for the shortcomings of supervision as it is currently conceived and practiced.⁶

The proposed remedy is termed 'dialogic Supervision'. Bakhtin's work has particular relevance for the study and practice of educational supervision. This is especially true within the contexts of reform and modernity. For Bakhtin, contexts are important considerations. The contexts of modernity, their instantiation in schools, and their effects on school leadership make relevant discussion of global movements that impinge upon today's schools (Giroux 1992; Smyth 1992). Where previous supervision research has favored micro-analysis of supervisor-teacher dyads (e.g. Blumberg 1980) over larger units of analysis, application of the dialogic principle to supervision links all contexts in an organic whole, re-embedding supervision within the changing contexts of modernity. Thus, application of Bakhtin's work on dialogue and context has profound implications for supervision theory, research and practice.

Locating Supervision

Theories and practices of supervision reflect the times in which they operate (Bolin and Panaritis 1992). Times change, and changes are occurring with greater rapidity now. Astute observers remark that we have entered a period characterized by the crises of modernity (Giddens 1990; Hargreaves 1994). Schooling, teaching and learning are undergoing profound changes (Nolan and Francis 1992). Constructivism, cooperative learning, Foxfire, global education, technology, site-based management, multicultural education, and applications of business reorganization techniques such as Total Quality Management are but a few of the many innovations discussed in staff rooms, universities and education journals.

Where does supervision fit into a context of change? Is supervision still viable? If schools decentralize, is there no longer a need for supervisors, or only no longer a need for central office supervisors? If teachers professionalize further and become reflective practitioners, researchers and leaders, will supervisors become superfluous?

The Crises of Modernity

The German philosopher Jurgen Habermas (1976) has written that a condition of modernity is the legitimization crisis, a questioning of authority. Others have written on the conditions of modernity, especially as these conditions affect schools (Hargreaves 1994). Hargreaves and Macmillan (1992: 30) note that the modern world is 'fast, compressed, complex and uncertain' and that the conditions of modernity place organizations 'under pressures of multiple innovation requiring rapid and responsive change'. Other characteristics of modernity include: 'globalization of trade, information and communication'; 'multicultural migration'; 'constant upgrading *and questioning of knowledge*'; and 'new patterns of production' (p. 30, emphasis added). In summarizing and

applying the conditions of modernity to teaching, Hargreaves and Macmillan state:

The challenge of change for teachers in the postmodern world, then, are ones of intensification and innovation overload, the need to define new missions and purposes, the search for justifications for practice when scientific certainty cannot supply them, and the struggle to create and define collaboration and self-management in ways that enhance collective empowerment instead of reinforcing administrative control. (1992: 31; emphasis added)

These are also the supervisor's challenge with/in the postmodern.

The malaise of modernity has brought a deep and pervading questioning of, among other things, science and scientific certainty. People all over the western world in all walks of life have begun to question basic assumptions, the previous bedrock upon which modern society has been built. Such profound questioning extends to, for example, science and the scientific method, government and government (dis)information, nature and people's relationships to it, and characteristics of and relationships among individuals and between individuals and their communities.

These phenomena are consequences of modernity. Briefly, the modern period, an extension of the Enlightenment, has been depicted as a response to the medieval period (Sale 1990), the period in western European civilization and history known for its dogmatism and the utter and pervasive power of the Roman Catholic church in peoples' lives. Sale (1990: 40) wrote that 'the task of achieving this triumph of European rationalism was immense, and it took a whole range of disparate talents ... and decades before it was ascendant, centuries before it was commonplace.' It was during this time that early scientists such as Galileo Galilei were condemned by the Church as heretics and forced to recant or face death or imprisonment.

Gradually, with the assistance of certain technological developments (gunpowder and refinements in the emerging science of geography, for example), the Enlightenment ascended to supremacy over the dogmatism of the Church (Harding 1990; Sale 1990). This was the dawn of the modern age. Harding writes that 'objectivist discourses are not just the territory of intellectuals and academics; they are the official dogma of the age' (1990: 88). A certain degree of people's religious fervor transferred to a belief in science and the possibilities it promised. It was during this time that the 'new world' (neither new nor a world) was 'discovered' and colonized and its peoples subdued (chiefly, I might add, with the assistance of those technological developments, like gunpowder, that had helped supplant the supremacy of the Church).

Technological developments came rapidly: the steam engine, the Industrial Revolution, the locomotive, the telegraph, the telephone, the electric light, the internal combustion engine, the motorcar, the airplane and the computer.

These technological developments, heralded as the benefits of science, had dramatic impacts on people and their ways of life.

Philosophies also changed. There were radical ontological and epistemological changes abroad, followed by bloodletting revolutions. Fueled by new conceptions of human and individual rights primarily influenced by Kant, Hobbes, Locke, Leibniz, Martin Luther, Schleiermacher and other western European philosophers, great social and political movements engulfed whole countries and their people. The effects were, and still are, felt around the globe.

These movements in science, philosophy and politics continued and intermingled, and the philosophies of Marxism-Leninism and German Socialism (Nationalism) were born. Was it coincidental that the German Fascist government of World War II perfected the jet-propulsion engine and nearly completed the atomic bomb? Such militarism prompted Anthony Giddens (1990: 10), to comment that:

Not just the threat of nuclear confrontation, but the actuality of military conflict, form a basic part of the 'dark side' of modernity in the current century. The twentieth century is the century of war, with the number of serious military engagements involving substantial loss of life being considerably higher than either of the two preceding centuries.'

Some so-called advances in science began to trouble people's moral sensibilities severely. For instance, what are we to make of genetic engineering? What of the effects of even a relatively simple, taken-for-granted diagnostic procedure such as amniocentesis – by which, among other things, fetal gender is revealed – upon societies and cultures where there is tremendous pressure on women to bear males? Each of these developments has produced a counter-discourse. Genetic engineering, fetal neuron transplants and similar technological 'advances' in bio-medicine have produced outrage in some and swelled the ranks of the religious Right; unexamined importation of certain technological and medical procedures has produced a whole field of study called 'ethnobiology'. Ethnobiology generally denotes a field of study in which certain practices are examined for their degree of fit with different cultures. Included in this field is examination of, for example, agricultural techniques (not usually thought of as a cultural practice), pest control and medical practices (Harding 1993).

The culmination of crises brought about by the unexamined and pervasive application of modern technologies and modes of thought has created what several writers refer to as 'the postmodern condition' (Lyotard 1985). This term, even the concept itself, is problematic. There are those, like Seyla Benhabib (1990, 1992) and Anthony Giddens (1990), who suggest that this cannot be a postmodern epoch because we are still so firmly entrenched with 'in the modern'. Other philosophical quibbles revolve around the issue of whether the

postmodern is a unique, discrete period whose primary trait is anti-modernism, or whether the so-called postmodern is simply a logical extension of the modern, built upon its foundation. In place of 'postmodern', Giddens (1990: 3) writes of the radicalization and universalization of modernity.⁷

Giddens (1990: 16-17) examines the dynamics that contribute to the radicalization of modernity: the separation of time and space, the disembedding of social systems and the reflexive ordering and reordering of social relations. What follows is a discussion of two of the crises of modernity – the crisis of scientific certainty and objectivity and the crisis of representation – and the ramifications of these crises for supervision. Also, poststructuralist discourse on the Other becomes relevant to the discussion of supervision with/in the modern.

The Crises of Scientific Certainty and Objectivity

Feminist philosophers of science have for some time been involved in demythologizing the western European, predominantly male, rational, objective and value-neutral posture of modern science (Harding 1990, 1993). Within contexts of modernity, science becomes problematic, due primarily to the phenomenon of the double hermeneutic. In Giddens's (1990: 17) discussion of modernity he refers to 'the reflexive ordering and reordering of social relations in light of continual inputs of knowledge affecting the actions of individuals and groups'. This double hermeneutic, Giddens believes, affects modern conceptions of knowledge and of science in that even as we gain some measure of understanding of a social phenomenon, we change the phenomenon because of our understanding. Science, it seems, has succeeded too well at its own game. Science usurped tradition and replaced it with rationalism, positivism. In so doing, the sense of greater certitude offered by science

actually subverts reason, at any rate where reason is understood as the gaining of certain knowledge . . . We are abroad in a world which is thoroughly constituted through reflexively applied knowledge, but where at the same time we can never be sure that any given element of that knowledge will not be revised. (Giddens 1990: 39)

Thus, writes Giddens,

In science, *nothing* is certain, and nothing can be proved, even if scientific endeavor provides us with the most dependable information about the world to which we can aspire. In the heart of the world of hard science, modernity floats free.

Application of these ideas to supervision and educational leadership problematizes classroom observation. In conventional instructional supervision,

the supervisor observes a lesson, takes 'data' through some observation instrument, and reports on the 'findings' of the observation in a post-conference. Questions of what constitutes data, whose data they are, and what values are embedded in the instruments and models chosen are relevant here – though seldom asked and never answered (Garman 1990: 202). Conditions of modernity also belie the certainty of teacher evaluation systems.

The Crisis of Representation

The second crisis of modernism with direct practical importance for supervision is what has been termed 'the crisis of representation' (Benhabib 1990: 109–13, 1992: 205–11; Harding 1990: 94–99). Harding's critique of positivism's claims at representation draw her to advocate 'feminist standpoint theories' in their stead. Benhabib (1990: 109) foresees the 'demise of the classical episteme of representation' and credits Jurgen Habermas with identifying four trends of modernity which contribute to the irrationality of modern society. These trends have particular relevance for supervision and educational leadership with/in the modern. They are:

[F]irst, access to the public sphere has always been limited by particularistic considerations of class, race, gender and religion; second, *increasingly not the consensual generation of norms but money and power have become modes through which individuals define the social bond and distribute social goods* . . . Third, as money and power become increasingly autonomous principals of social life, *individuals lose a sense of agency and efficacy* . . . Fourth, *the demands of increased role-distance and continuing subjection of tradition to critique and revision in a disenchanted universe make it difficult for individuals to develop a coherent sense of self and community* under conditions of modernity. (Benhabib 1992: 80–81; emphasis added)

Applied to supervision, this means that supervisors practicing conventional techniques may inadvertently contribute to power differentials and an incoherent sense of community, in short, to the alienation, atomization and disenfranchisement of teachers (Waite in press).

Benhabib (1990: 110) notes that the 'classical episteme of representation presupposed a spectator conception of the knowing self, a designative theory of meaning, and a denotative theory of language'. In the classical positivist tradition, 'meaning was defined as "designation"; the meaning of a word was what it designates, while the primary function of language was denotative, namely to inform us about objectively existing states of affairs' (Benhabib 1992: 206). Benhabib details three distinct directions of critique which, when taken together, lead to the rejection of the classical episteme: 'the critique of the modern epistemic subject . . . the critique of the modern epistemic object, and . . . the critique of the modern concept of the sign' (Benhabib 1990: 110).

The third line of critique, begun with Ferdinand de Saussure and Charles Sanders Pierce and extending through Wittgenstein, posited 'the public and shared character of language as a starting point' (Benhabib 1990: 112). Benhabib might have added Bakhtin to this list, for his work integrates all these lines of critique within his conception of 'translinguistics'.⁸

Dialogic Supervision as a Corrective

There are many authors in the area of supervision who privilege the objective nature of supervisory observations and feedback. Acheson and Gall (1992: 12), for example, hold that a goal of clinical supervision is 'to provide teachers with objective feedback on the current state of their instruction'.⁹ This mindset perpetuates not only certain worldviews, but respective teacher and supervisor roles that are inflexible and unresponsive (Waite 1992a, 1992b, 1993; Hargreaves 1994).

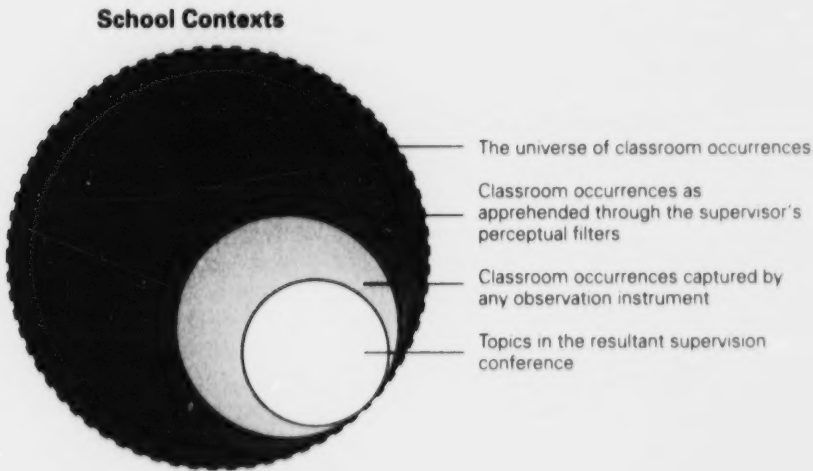
What is the role of the teacher in supervision? What is the role of the supervisor? What purpose does supervision serve? The classical episteme would posit teachers as passive recipients of supervisors' expert knowledge. This way of thinking results in the fatalistic find-what's-wrong-and-tell-them-how-to-fix-it phenomenon assumed by many practicing administrators to be the core practice of supervision (Holland *et al.* 1991: 6).

Research on teacher-supervisor conferences (Waite 1992b, 1993, in press) has demonstrated power balance shifts between teacher and supervisor from the pre-conference to post-conference. Equal relations in a pre-conference often become unequal in the ensuing post-conference, with power accruing to the supervisor. This is understandable given that in a pre-conference it is the teacher who generally holds the information and the supervisor who is in the role of learner, answer seeker. One can easily see how this is the case. Acheson and Gall (1992: 102) suggest that the supervisor ask four basic questions of the teacher during the pre-conference: What is the lesson to be about? What will you (the teacher) be doing during the lesson? What will the students be doing during the lesson?; and what would you like me (the supervisor) to look for? The only intervening variable which could account for the power shift from the pre-conference to the post-conference seems to be the addition of the observational record, the data.

The power-shift phenomenon between the pre and post-conference should come as no surprise to those familiar with the literature concerning the nature of science and objectivity, and the power of these discourses to persuade and convince. Science, scientific research, and its findings are more often used to settle a question, to end a debate or discussion, than they are used to free up discussion. In this regard, use of 'hard' data in supervision may in fact close down discussion rather than open it up.

Conventional supervisory observations and their subsequent conferences are reductionistic (see Figure 6.1). That is, the supervisory process, as

Figure 6.1: Schematic representation of reductionistic tendencies in conventional clinical supervision



traditionally practiced, reduces what gets seen and talked about. These reductionistic practices, whether intended or not, serve particular aims and ignore or exclude others. It is generally the teacher who gets short shrift in the conventional clinical supervision cycle. This is so because, as illustrated in Figure 6.1, classrooms are busy places, cognitively and perceptually dense. No one can see all that goes on in a classroom, and some of what goes on in classrooms is invisible (Erickson 1986b). Of the processes that can be visually or auditorially perceived, the supervisor's (or another observer's) biases and perceptual filters omit important occurrences. Further reductions in what gets recorded and talked about result from the use of an observation instrument, any observation instrument. Even the best observation instrument, the least selective, cannot capture even a small percentage of what the supervisor's perceptual filters allow to pass through to conscious recognition. This phenomenon is at the root of discussions of the crisis of representation. What finally gets discussed in a supervision conference is reduced further still.

Further reductionism is occasioned by the interactional face-to-face processes of the conference itself, as was made evident in Chapters 2 and 3. Usually the supervisor shares or reports the data from the observation to the teacher. This is often done in compressed time. The teacher may comment on or respond to what the supervisor reports. Seldom is the teacher allowed to speak his or her mind, to say anything he or she wants. All teacher contributions in such a conference are responses to the supervisor's report of the data. The supervisor, whether he or she wishes to or not, controls the entire

conference. Even in the most collaborative of conferences, it is the supervisor's data that frame the interaction.

Teachers are disempowered through the normal supervisory process because, in part, conversations are sequential (and linear); seldom are they holistic or gestalt experiences. No one can talk about everything at once. As an example, how often in a conversation such as a class discussion does the talk move on to make now irrelevant the contribution the student with his or her hand raised wished to make? In order to make relevant a now irrelevant comment, the potential speaker needs to do a lot of interactional work (e.g. 'Remember when you said . . .').

Supervision conferences flow and topics become interactionally irrelevant. If a teacher wants to bring up an issue, he or she must do the necessary work ('You said that . . . but I feel that . . .'). This is not always possible and seldom likely. The press of the moment proscribes against it, the conversation moves on, the teacher and supervisor have other (more important?) things to do. The end result is that teachers seldom can bring up their concerns, free and unencumbered, except maybe with other teachers in informal settings. In supervision conferences, owing to their formal and ritual nature (Garman 1990: 211), not any and all topics are sanctioned as legitimate ones for discussion. In a free and open discussion, in the dialogic supervision process, *any* topic is appropriate, any assumption or authority can be questioned.

If the goals of supervision and supervisory conferences include teacher reflection, participation, empowerment and change, then we ought to seek alternatives to the traditional supervision pre-conference-observation-post-conference ritual. One alternative, with liberatory potential for teacher and supervisor alike, is 'dialogic supervision', based on the work of M. M. Bakhtin.¹⁰

Bakhtin and the Dialogic Principle

Bakhtin was a Russian intellectual, internally exiled during Stalin's reign, who wrote and taught from the early 1900s until his death in 1975.¹¹ Possibly due to the time in which he was writing or the tardiness of his translation into English, Bakhtin's influence is still cresting in American academia. His most influential works are *Rabelais and His World* (1968), *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* (1973), and *The Dialogic Imagination* (1981b).

Bakhtin's application to the field of supervision, especially, is to be found in his exegesis of dialogue, the dialogic and dialogism, and his notion of unfinalizability.¹² He has been characterized as a philosophical anthropologist (Todorov 1984: 94-112) and his notion of the dialogic principle as a distinct epistemology (Holquist 1990: 14-17). More specifically, Gardiner (1992: 170) terms Bakhtin's project a 'proto-existentialist philosophical anthropology', while White (1984: 142) credits Bakhtin's dialogism with establishing a 'critical socio-linguistics of culture'. Holquist, however, sees Bakhtin's contribution as much more than an epistemology. He makes the claim that dialogism is also an

axiology, concerned with 'social and ethical values as the means by which the fundamental I/other split articulates itself in specific situations'. Furthermore, Holquist believes dialogism to be a science of building, an 'architectonics' – that is, in so far as 'the act of perception is understood as a patterning of a relation' (1990: 33).

As best as can be described in this short space, the dialogic principle refers to the notion that an utterance takes place in already inhabited interactional zones. A word is already always inhabited with others' meanings, an utterance, more so. Bakhtin (1981a: 293) wrote that 'the word in language is half someone else's', in that 'language, for the individual consciousness, lies on the borderline between oneself and the other'.

The world for Bakhtin is known for its 'heteroglossia', its multivoicedness. This is an important concept for Bakhtin and marked a radical departure from the dominant Saussurian linguistics of his day. *Heteroglossia* is the influence of another's word upon an utterance, the stylization of it in a novel, for example, 'involves a sideways glance at others' languages, at other points of view and other conceptual systems, each with its own set of objects and meanings' (Bakhtin 1981a: 376). Heteroglossia is a 'social diversity of speech types' (1981a: 263).

Language processes include, for Bakhtin, *centripetal* and *centrifugal* forces – forces acting to pull the language to a unified center and opposing forces acting to pull a language apart. Centripetal forces (those associated with monologism, another important theme for Bakhtin) include movements toward standardization and centralization, a 'correct language' (Bakhtin 1981a: 270). Much more is at stake than linguistic norms for Bakhtin, who conceives language as

ideologically saturated . . . a world view, even as a concrete opinion, insuring a *maximum* of understanding in all spheres of ideological life. Thus a unitary language gives expression to forces working toward concrete verbal and ideological unification and centralization, which develop in vital connection with the process of sociopolitical and cultural centralization. (p. 271)

These forces socially stratify language into languages that are 'socio-ideological: languages of social groups, "professional" and "generic" languages, languages of generations and so forth' (p. 272).¹⁵

Operating concurrently with the centripetal forces are the countervailing centrifugal forces of language, the forces of 'decentralization and disunification' (Bakhtin 1981a: 272). Slang, parody, humor in general, and the carnivalesque aspects of speech are examples of centrifugal forces at work on language.

At any given moment, both these forces are at play simultaneously, creating a 'contradiction-ridden, tension-filled unity of two embattled tendencies in the life of language' (Bakhtin 1981a: 272). It is these two forces acting upon an utterance that produces heteroglossia.

The authentic environment of an utterance, the environment in which it lives and takes shape, is dialogized heteroglossia, anonymous and social as language, but simultaneously concrete, filled with content and accented as an individual utterance. (1981a: 272)

The dialogic principle explains how words mediate understanding, how words are encrusted with others' meaning even as they are directed at another's conceptual horizon and that other's 'future answer-word' (Bakhtin 1981a: 280). The word, the utterance, 'structures itself in the answer's direction' and forms 'itself in an atmosphere of the already spoken, the word is at the same time determined by that which has not yet been said but which is needed and in fact anticipated by the answering word' (1981a: 280). Going much further than traditional Saussurian linguistics, Bakhtin posits an active responsiveness on the speaker's part. Rather than positing an ideal speech situation with a passive listener, Bakhtin believes speakers and their words are directed to active understanding, 'one that discourse senses as resistance or support enriching the discourse' (1981a: 281).¹⁴ In Bakhtin's terms:

this contradictory environment of alien words is present to the speaker not in the object, but rather in the consciousness of the listener, as his (*sic*) apperceptive background, pregnant with responses and objections. And every utterance is oriented toward this apperceptive background of understanding, which is not a linguistic background but rather one composed of specific objects and emotional expressions. (1981a: 281)

The speaker orients himself or herself to the specific, concrete 'conceptual horizon' of the other when in a dialogical relationship. In Bakhtin's (1981a: 282) admittedly overly militaristic language: 'The speaker breaks through the alien conceptual horizon of the listener, constructs his (*sic*) own utterance on alien territory, against his, the listener's, apperceptive background.' 'The word', in the sense which Bakhtin conceives it and its interaction, 'lives, as it were, on the boundary between its own context and another, alien, context' (1981a: 284).

Thus, dialogization has internal and external aspects. Externally, dialogization takes place between two alien conceptual horizons using words encrusted with still others' meanings. Internally, dialogization takes place within a single speaker or self, using these same already invested words, and takes place between different speaker states and/or at different times (between past and present selves).

In sum, we have then the definition of dialogization provided by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Bakhtin 1981b: 426) in the glossary companion to their translation of *The Dialogic Imagination*:

Dialogism is the characteristic epistemological mode of a world dominated by heteroglossia. Everything means, is understood, as part of a

greater whole – there is a constant interaction between meanings, all of which have the potential of conditioning others. Which will affect the other, how it will do so and in what degree is what is actually settled at the moment of utterance. This dialogic imperative, mandated by the pre-existence of the language world relative to any of its current inhabitants, insures that there can be no monologue.

Dialogism and its opposite, monologism, relate various poles on the continuum of authority, and on the nature of power.

Bakhtin sought to explicate literary genres and, in doing so, contributed to the complexity of the meanings of authorship. What are the sources of authority on which authors and their characters draw? What are the relationships between genres – contemporary and historical – between the author and the text's characters, and between the multiple characters within a single work? These are essential questions for Bakhtin. Bakhtin's work has been extended to include examinations of 'authorship . . . [as] a form of governance' (Holquist 1990: 34).

In order to understand the work of Bakhtin and the relevance it holds for supervision better, it might be advantageous to oppose two of his fundamental concepts. The first, dialogism, we have touched upon briefly; the second, opposing principle, monologism, is worthy of further discussion here. In explicating the distinctions between these two opposing concepts, their relevance for supervision, indeed any face-to-face encounter, should become apparent.

Monologism¹⁵ can be thought of as the movement toward a unitary language: 'Totalitarian government always seeks the (utopian) condition of absolute monologue' because the aim of such a government is 'the suppression of all otherness in the state so that its creator alone might flourish' (Holquist 1990: 34). Authoritative language borrows from the monologic. In supervision conferences or wherever, authoritative language reifies the word: 'only a single and unitary language, one that does not acknowledge other languages alongside itself, can be subject to reification' (Bakhtin 1981a: 336).

Bakhtin (1981a: 342) described an ideological dynamic between the forces he termed 'authoritative discourse' and 'internally persuasive discourse'. Both these forces contribute to the development of the individual ideological consciousness:

The ideological becoming of a human being . . . is the process of selectively assimilating the words of others . . . The authoritative word demands that we acknowledge it, that we make it our own; it binds us, quite independent of any power it might have to persuade us internally; we encounter it with its authority already fused to it. The authoritative word is located in a distanced zone, organically connected with a past that is felt to be hierarchically higher. It is, so to speak, the word of the fathers. (1981a: 341, 342)

The authoritative word 'is indissolubly fused with its authority – with political power, an institution, a person' (1981a: 343). The domains of the authoritative word are the 'religious, political, moral, the word of a father, of adults and of teachers, etc.' (1981a: 342); one might hasten to add 'the words of supervisors and other administrators'. In supervision, such authoritative discourse is usually signaled by such phrases as: 'according to the superintendent . . .'; or 'the district guidelines state . . .'; or 'research says . . .'; or 'the whole language process (or whatever) is done like this . . .'; and so on. 'Authoritative discourses may embody various contents: authority as such, or the authoritativeness of tradition, of generally acknowledged truths, of the official line and other similar authorities' (1981a: 344). The authoritative word is distant from the zone of contact and cannot be separated, cannot be divided up and appropriated piecemeal – one cannot choose which parts to accept and which to reject. It is reified and monologic in that one does not enter into a dialogic relation with the authoritative word, though, as will be shown later, one *can* enter into a dialogic relationship with authorities.

Set against the authoritative word is the internally persuasive word and its discourse. The internally persuasive word also embodies the language of others; however, it enters into an internal dialogue within the hearer's consciousness. The advent of a unique individual ideological consciousness is brought about through dialogue with the internally persuasive word.

When thought begins to work in an independent, experimenting and discriminating way what first occurs is a separation between internally persuasive discourse and authoritarian enforced discourse, along with a rejection of those congeries of discourses that do not matter to us, that do not touch us. (Bakhtin 1981a: 345)

The dynamic tension between authoritative and internally persuasive discourse is characteristic of Bakhtin's epistemology. That epistemology is a fluid, forceful interplay of opposing forces taking place at the site of the individual, be it the individual utterance or consciousness: '[T]here is a struggle constantly being waged to overcome the official line [the authoritative] with its tendency to distance itself from the zone of contact, a struggle against various kinds and degrees of authority' (Bakhtin 1981a: 345).

Internally persuasive discourse, on the other hand, is 'denied all privilege, backed by no authority at all, and is frequently not even acknowledged by society (not by public opinion, nor by scholarly norms, nor by criticism), not even in the legal code' (Bakhtin 1981a: 342).⁶⁶ It is 'tightly interwoven with "one's own word"' and

its creativity and productiveness consist precisely in the fact that such a word awakens new and independent words, that it organizes masses of our words from within, and does not remain in an isolated and static condition. It is not so much interpreted by us as it is further, that

is, freely, developed, applied to new material, new conditions; it enters into interanimating relationships with new contexts. More than that, it enters into an intense interaction, a *struggle* with other internally persuasive discourses. Our ideological development is just such an intense struggle within us for hegemony among various available verbal and ideological points of view, approaches, directions and values. The semantic structure of an internally persuasive discourse is *not finite*, it is *open*, in each of the contexts that dialogize it, this discourse is able to reveal ever newer *ways to mean*. (Bakhtin 1981a: 345-6)

Unique to the internally persuasive discourse is its relation to the context and the listener. Where authoritative discourse is static and distant, internally persuasive discourse is marked by its contemporaneity:

The internally persuasive word is either a contemporary word, born in a zone of contact with unresolved contemporaneity, or else it is a word that has been reclaimed for contemporaneity . . . [W]hat is constitutive for it is a special conception of listeners, readers, perceivers. Every discourse presupposes a special conception of the listener, of his (*sic*) apperceptive background and the degree of his responsiveness; it presupposes a specific distance. (Bakhtin 1981a: 346)

Framing of internally persuasive discourse, its transmission and its contexts, 'provid[es] maximal interaction between another's word and its context, for the dialogizing influence they have on each other, for the free and creative development of another's word, for a gradation of transmission' (Bakhtin 1981a: 346). These methods of transmission and framing the internally persuasive discourse in its context

govern the play of boundaries, the distance between that point where the context begins to prepare for the introduction of another's word and the point where the word is actually introduced (its 'theme' may sound in the text long before the appearance of the actual word). These methods account for other peculiarities as well . . . such as that word's semantic openness to us, its capacity for further creative life in the context of our individual consciousness, its unfinishedness and the inexhaustibility of our further dialogic interaction with it. (1981a: 346)

For Bakhtin, the ideological development of an individual consciousness, the movement away from authoritative, monologic discourse is one of struggle:

The importance of struggling with another's discourse, its influence in the history of an individual's coming to ideological consciousness, is enormous. One's own discourse and one's own voice, although born

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of another or dynamically stimulated by another, will sooner or later begin to liberate themselves from the authority of the other's discourse. (1981a: 348)

When viewed in this way, supervisory dialogue, indeed all dialogue within schools, takes on a new identity and purpose. If, as is the assumption here, supervision is concerned with the development and growth of people in schools, their fulfillment and realization of potential, then the struggle with the authoritative word must be joined by supervisors and teachers alike. This, according to Bakhtin, is the path to the realization of the individual's ideological consciousness within a community of voices.

The Dialogic Principle and Supervision

Supervisors and other school leaders must first recognize the diversity within even the most seemingly homogenous staff, school situation and context. Heteroglossia is more the norm than the exception.¹⁷

Supervisors and administrators need to examine the role they play in perpetuating the status quo (Blase 1993) – the accretion of others' words in their own, and the authoritarian side of school organizations within the wider society – their monologism and centripetal force. Along the lines suggested by the dialogic principle, supervisors must examine their own actions and words for the degree to which they are already always inhabited by others' ideas. For example, we sometimes say something and wonder where the words came from. 'I'm beginning to sound just like my mother' (or father), is a common parental meta-linguistic reflection. Supervisors, too, internalize other authorities' words and views, often without realizing it, without consciously choosing to do so.

Just as Bakhtin discusses the emergence of a consciousness – the ideological development of the individual consciousness, phrased by Bakhtin in terms of struggle – it is presumptuous to think this applies only to children or teachers. Supervisors develop too. They develop globally, in cognitive complexity and in personality, and they develop in interaction with others. Supervisors develop in their role (Waite 1994b), they develop ideologically, and they develop the political savvy to survive in that role. What aspects of this development are taken from others, out of their mouths, so to speak? Which of these borrowed thoughts and phrases actually run counter to what a supervisor believes deep in his or her heart? What can be jettisoned and what needs to be met on the ideological battlefield of already inhabited words and others' perceptual horizons? How can a supervisor be true to herself or himself and to the teachers with whom she or he works?

The first step in dialogic supervision, obviously, involves self-work, not that this work needs to be done in isolation or before assuming a supervisory role. That would run counter to Bakhtin's notion that the Self is developed in

response to or in conjunction with others. The Self is not an atomistic, pre-existing entity, a *tabula rasa*, to be written at one's will. The Self is socially constructed. What is required is continual reflection on one's practice and beliefs. Others may lend assistance in this effort – teachers, superiors, other supervisors. In short, anyone with whom one comes into contact may provide the dynamic for self-reflection. One cannot do it oneself. Bakhtin writes that one cannot know the totality of oneself. I cannot see the whole of my life. I cannot see my death. I cannot see all the contexts that influence me even as I influence them. I cannot perceive the totality of the event in which I am emerged. The Other is needed for that.

This notion that the Other is needed to help one begin to perceive the whole of oneself is ample justification that there be supervisors, or someone to perform that role, in today's schools. Teachers cannot see the whole. This is not to suggest that supervisors are in a superior position *vis-à-vis* teachers, just that they are in a position of Other. Any Other could perform this service.

For matters of clarity and brevity, let us say that anyone performing this service – that of entering into a dialogic relationship with a teacher in order to grant that teacher an Other's perspective on their teaching, their embedded Self, is performing the services of a supervisor, that he or she is, in fact, and at that instant, a supervisor. How should a dialogic supervisor proceed?

In the Classroom

In order to see how dialogic supervision is enacted in the classroom it may be best to contrast it with other approaches (a decidedly Bakhtinian project). Acheson and Gall (1992: 12) privilege the objective nature of the data supervisors gather in classroom observations and the non-judgmental feedback supervisors give teachers. Indeed, these authors provide supervisors with no less than 35 supervisory 'techniques', 17 of which are classroom observation techniques!

One classroom observation technique not proposed by these authors is the 'null technique' – observation of a classroom by a supervisor or Other where *no* explicit data gathering technique is used.¹⁸ Rather than risking reification of the supervisor's perceptions through the process of objectifying complex classroom contexts and occurrences as 'data', the dialogic supervisor or peer observer becomes a witness to a teaching episode in order to enter into a dialogue with that teacher. Of course, data may be gathered through paper-and-pencil instruments or other means at various times, but dialogic supervision seeks to focus on and enhance the quality of the teacher-supervisor conversation, the dialogue, rather than focusing on the data. When the supervisor witnesses in this way, both teacher and supervisor have a better chance of coming to the table on an equal footing, having participated in a shared experience (to the extent that is possible) to which they may refer in the ensuing discussion.

Of course, there must be a context already established for such supervisor-

teacher conversations to take place. One of the ground rules of dialogic supervision is that participants are free, indeed encouraged, to question anyone's assumptions. This is done within a relationship of mutual trust and reciprocity. Another underpinning of the dialogic approach, an essential element for the approach to succeed, is that dialogic supervision is to be employed *for reflection and growth* (i.e. for its potential to foster freedom and liberation) and *not* for monitoring for control. Monitoring for control, surveillance, is a bureaucratic function, one of the dangers or dark sides of organizations within a radicalized modernity.

In respect of administrative resources, tendencies towards increasing democratic involvement have as their dark side possibilities for the creation of totalitarian power. The intensifying of surveillance operations provides many avenues of democratic involvement, but also makes possible the sectional control of political power, bolstered by monopolistic access to the means of violence. Totalitarianism and modernity are not just contingently, but inherently, connected . . . (Giddens 1990: 172)

Such uses of the knowledge and rapport gained through implementation of dialogic supervision must be avoided by the dialogic supervisor. Coming to the conference with no explicit data allows for the possibility to emerge that the supervisor's assumptions and biases are laid bare, revealed and examined instead of having them embedded within some supposedly neutral scientific observation record.

An explanation by way of an example may help clarify this last point. An often used observation instrument, known to most supervisors and some teachers, is that called the 'At Task' instrument (Acheson and Gall 1992: 127-33). With this instrument, the supervisor codes students' behaviors as to whether they are on or off task and may capture other behaviors as well. Embedded within this instrument and its use are various assumptions, tenuous at best, about the nature of tasks in general and beliefs, extrapolated from the literature on effective teaching, that time on task somehow equates with improved student learning. A moment's reflection reveals that the problematic nature of defining the task undermines whatever objectivity is presumed for this instrument.

First of all, only overt student behaviors are available to the supervisor for coding. Use of this instrument, with its embedded assumptions, neglects the fact that humans are polyphasic (i.e. multiphased) or able to do many tasks at once. We are able to walk and chew gum at the same time, for example, or do homework with the television on. Students actually may or may not be attending to a lesson whether or not they seem to be; their overt, observable behavior is often a poor indication of their attentiveness.

Another problematic aspect of using this instrument is in getting the teacher to define the task the supervisor is to observe. Lessons have varying degrees

of complexity at any one time, and lessons change over time. Getting teachers to make explicit in a pre-conference all of their implicit assumptions of the tasks the students are to be engaged in is nearly impossible, or at least highly improbable, in a conventional supervision pre-conference. A dialogic approach, however, stands a much better chance of getting at these assumptions.

Still another problematic embedded within the use of this particular instrument has been discussed by educational anthropologist Fred Erickson (1986b: 139). This has to do with who defines the task. Briefly put, everyone is on task all the time. The question for the anthropologist or any classroom observer becomes what is the task?

Other Dialogic Alternatives

The dialogic supervisor could supervise in the manner described above, through use of the 'null technique', though the process actually begins much earlier. For example, Diane Wood (1992) suggests that supervisors assist teachers in developing the teacher's narrative. This represents an important first step toward a dialogical relationship, though it falls short of establishing the multivoicedness which is the ideal goal of dialogic supervision.

Wood (1992) proposes a supervision and evaluation process of nine phases. The process of facilitating teachers' narratives begins with an interview in which the teacher is asked to recount 'a critical incident or particular memory of his or her teaching or learning experience' (p. 537). The development of the narrative proceeds through collaborative interpretation of that account, to the naming of a theme in the teacher's professional life, and the establishment of goals for the teacher's professional development based upon that theme. The process includes another interview and a classroom observation by the supervisor, with feedback. Finally, the process culminates in a written self-evaluation by the teacher, an evaluation of the teacher by the supervisor, and a joint discussion of further professional growth opportunities. Wood justifies this process with her belief

that omitting subjective knowledge and personal knowledge from conceptions of what can be known denies us access to truth. The way teachers experience their lives as professionals matters, and the way they interpret and make meaning of their work can and should be grounds for inquiry, research, and theory in education. (1992: 545)

As stated, this supervisory facilitation of the development of teaching narratives offers an important first step toward a more dialogical relationship. However, enactment of Wood's process does not guarantee a symmetrical power relationship between supervisor and teacher. It is still the supervisor who acts on the teacher; the roles are never reversed. The teacher is the only agent asked to disclose her or his psyche. If the supervisor and the teacher each were encouraged to facilitate the development of the narrative of the

other, the power differential has a better chance of being redressed. The assumption here is that, in a dialogical, egalitarian process both parties benefit. The *supervisor* gains valuable insights into both her or his own and the teacher's ways of making sense, and the *teacher* benefits from the intimate knowledge gained of the supervisor and of himself or herself.

Another weakness of the Wood approach, from a dialogical perspective, is that it assumes an individualistically-oriented agency; that is, the belief that the teacher can construct her or his narrative uninfluenced by the supervisor. This notion runs counter to constructivist and interactionist notions of both discourse and meaning making. From the Bakhtinian perspective, all tellings are interactional constructions. The word for Bakhtin is formed in anticipation of the other's conceptual horizon, his or her answerability. The assumption that the narrative belongs solely to the teacher is fallacious.

Other weaknesses of the Wood (1992) approach – more likely to be rectified by a dialogical approach – are those shared by narrative inquiry generally (Bourdieu 1977a; Hargreaves 1993; Waite 1994a). Privileging one person's narrative (or phenomenological episteme) over another's contributes to power differentials. Historically, supervisory discourses were the privileged ones. In this light, supervisors facilitating the telling of teaching narratives can be viewed as a necessary corrective. However, it would be wrong to believe that the process of addressing power imbalances should necessarily end with the ascendancy of the teacher's point of view; especially if this means privileging one point of view to the exclusion of others.¹⁹ The threat here is the potential for simply substituting one form of monologism, the supervisor's, with another, the teacher's. What about the student's point of view? Is the teacher's phenomenological construction to eclipse the student's (Hargreaves 1993)? What about other stakeholders in the educational process – parents, supervisors, administrators, other community members? Are they to be sacrificed at the altar of teacher narrative?

The answer is no. Following Bakhtin's dialogic principle, a teacher's voice is one among many, one voice in a heteroglot community of voices. Supervisors too have only one voice (not that supervisors speak with the same voice, nor teachers for that matter).²⁰ The project of the dialogic supervisor is to bring all those voices together on an equal footing.

Ideally, supervision conferences and their dialogue should approximate a moral conversation (Benhabib 1992: 8, 53–54). A moral conversation is a process 'in which the capacity to reverse perspectives, that is, the willingness to reason from the others' point of view, and the sensitivity to hear their voice is paramount' (1992: 8). The underpinnings of moral conversations are 'norms of universal moral respect and egalitarian reciprocity' (Benhabib 1992: 30), whose procedural steps include:

- 1 A philosophical theory of morality [the moral conversation] must show wherein the justifiability of moral judgments and/or normative assertions reside.

- 2 To justify means to show that if you and I argued about a particular moral judgment . . . and a set of normative assertions . . . that we could in principle come to a reasonable agreement (*rationales Einverständnis*).
- 3 A 'reasonable agreement' must be arrived at under conditions which correspond to our idea of a fair debate.
- 4 These rules of fair debate can be formulated as the 'universal-pragmatic' presuppositions of argumentative speech and these can be stated as a set of procedural rules . . .
- 5 These rules reflect the moral ideal that we ought to *respect* each other as beings whose standpoint is worthy of equal consideration (the principle of moral respect) and that furthermore,
- 6 We ought to treat each other as concrete human beings whose capacity to express this standpoint we ought to embrace by creating, whenever possible, social practices embodying the discursive ideal (the principle of egalitarian reciprocity). (Benhabib 1992: 30-31)

The goal of such moral conversations

is the process of such dialogue, conversation and mutual understanding and not consensus . . . In conversation, I must know how to listen, I must know how to understand your point of view, I must learn to represent to myself the world and the other as you see them. If I cannot listen, if I cannot understand, and if I cannot represent, the conversation stops, develops into an argument, or maybe never gets started. (1992: 52)

Egalitarian reciprocity would be difficult for a teacher (or teachers) and a supervisor to achieve if each remains encrusted with layers of taken-for-granted beliefs about themselves, about schools and about children. A critical, reflective and receptive disposition must be kindled and nurtured throughout the dialogic supervisory process. (It is to be hoped that each party to the supervision process would maintain a critical and reflective disposition toward one's conditions, yet a caring and accepting attitude toward one's colleagues.) A deep respect for the Other is the background of the dialogic process, an authentic drive to understand is the dynamic.

An important aspect of the dialogic approach is that everything is held as being open to scrutiny and to question:

a universal-pragmatic reformulation of transcendental philosophy . . . is postmetaphysical in the sense that truth is no longer regarded as the psychological attribute of human consciousness, or to be the property of a reality distinct from the mind, or even to consist in the process by which 'givens' in consciousness are correlated with 'givens' in experience. In the discursive justification and validation of truth claims

no moment is privileged as a given, evidential structure which cannot be further questioned. (Benhabib 1992: 4-5)

For supervision, this would mean that each of the conferees could raise any issue which he or she felt relevant, from any perspective, and based upon any evidentiary claim thought substantial.

In the continuing and potentially unending discourse of the community of inquiry there are no 'givens', there are only those aspects of consciousness and reality which at any point in time may enter into our deliberations as evidence and which we find cogent in backing our statements. (Benhabib 1992: 5)

In practice, upholding these ideals would mean authoritarian discourse is interrogated and questioned, whether the authoritative discourse is spoken by the teacher or supervisor. Though Bakhtin believed that the authoritative word could not be taken apart and appropriated segmentally, nor interrogated because of its distance from the site of interaction, the authorities *can* be questioned. For example, if the supervisor states that a district rule is such-and-such, or that the superintendent said so-and-so, these statements do not need to be accepted at face value. The rules can be found, the superintendent can be interviewed. Even the rule-making body can be approached and questioned about the policies it has set; the policies can be questioned. Of course, within an open system, these interactions are much more probable and positive. Even within more closed, or monologic systems, however, the limits can be tested and, hopefully, made more flexible through application of the dialogic approach. The assumption here is that many, though not all, administrators, at whatever hierarchical level, would welcome open communication. The disadvantages of the modern school organizational structure include its rigidity, its inflexibility and unresponsiveness (Hargreaves 1994). Often those at the top of hierarchical chains of command are insulated from and out of communication with everyone else in the organization except for those few with whom they have formal relations, i.e. their immediate subordinates (Scollon and Scollon 1986).

Teachers' authoritative discourse is open to question also. If a teacher says in conference that 'these children are lazy and don't do their work', this statement is subject to refutation and/or verification. Simple action research projects can be set up to analyze and affect the situation.

Obviously, much of the authoritative discourse could not be interrogated at the moment of the utterance, within the context of the immediate supervision conference. Time will be needed to take one's concerns to the supposed author/authority. The supervisor could do this simply because in his or her role it is usually the supervisor who has greater mobility and, perhaps, easier access to the author of the authoritative discourse, but this need not always be so. The teacher may be empowered to carry the questions generated to others.

In this way one of the goals of dialogic supervision, that of moving toward a heteroglot community, is initiated. A truly heteroglot, multivoiced community remains an ideal; not all superintendents and boards of education would be open to justifying themselves to teachers and supervisors. Without this type of activism on educators' parts, however, it is less likely that policy makers and others would take responsibility for those decisions that are made at a distance which affect teachers and students and their lived experiences daily.

Also, because of the distance of the authoritarian voices from the scene, it may take some time for there to come a reply, or no reply may be forthcoming. This should not deter conference participants, teacher and supervisor, from seeking to dialogue with the authors of authoritarian words, nor should it keep them from acting while awaiting a reply. The teacher and supervisor should not become frozen in anticipation of a reply. The questions raised and the replies anticipated become but one voice, one avenue of inquiry and growth in the tapestry that is the life of the classroom and school.

Another strategy with the potential to foster dialogic supervisory relationships is for the teacher and supervisor to reverse roles. One possibility is for the supervisor to generate some data using an appropriate observation instrument, but in the conference, the teacher assumes the traditional role of the supervisor while the supervisor assumes the role of teacher (see Chapters 2 and 3 for a discussion of more conventional roles). In such a reversal, the teacher would then report on the data and the supervisor would respond. Use of this procedure would allow for the reversal of perspectives prized by Benhabib.

Another possible procedure is that which was briefly described above. Here, the supervisor uses the 'null technique' and simply witnesses a teaching/learning episode. Then, after agreeing on the ground rules, the two co-construct the lesson with neither's perspective being the privileged one. The ground rules to be agreed upon are Benhabib's procedural steps for a moral conversation – the search for reasonable agreement in a dialogic process replete with mutual respect and characterized by reciprocal egalitarianism.

The search for understanding is one of the main goals of dialogic supervision.²¹ The goal is for the teacher to understand the supervisor's perspective and for the supervisor to understand the teacher's perspective. Understanding, though it sounds inconsequential, is a difficult goal to attain. Often teachers and supervisors are more interested in immediate action and stop-gap solutions than they are in authentic communication. To strive for understanding, the actors may have to delay action until some semblance of understanding is attained. This is difficult to do.

Other possible processes to experiment with in aspiring to a dialogic ideal of supervision include having others' portrayals of classroom occurrences frame the interaction between teacher and supervisor. Using others to do the initial classroom observations mitigates some authors' criticisms that clinical supervision is too time and labor intensive (Glatthorn 1983). Other teachers, classroom

aides, student teachers, students themselves, even parent volunteers and school auxiliary staff (custodians, lunchroom workers, bus drivers, etc.) could be taught classroom observation and recording techniques in order to generate the data that might stimulate teacher-supervisor dialogue. (These others might even be invited to join the table during the discussion, if desired.) The use of others to generate the data informing the teacher-supervisor dialogue accomplishes several goals of a dialogic approach. It brings other perspectives, other voices, to the conference and it relieves both the teacher and the supervisor from the onus of the expert role. This process equalizes relationships (no one has an investment in the data *per se*) and dampens objections to the claimed objectivity of scientific data gathering. These third-party perspectives could easily be interrogated by both the teacher and supervisor. The likelihood of a confrontation over interpretation of classroom occurrences between the supervisor and teacher is lessened by using data gathered by some third party.

Conclusion

A dialogic supervisor could take the process as far as is possible and as long as it is of some benefit. The question of how far to take the process of inclusion must be addressed at some point since the contexts of supervision conferences are multilayered and the potential contributors, the multiple voices possible, are nearly infinite. It is recommended that supervisors wishing to begin the dialogic supervision process begin locally, with oneself and with one's immediate partner. Establishing the norms of egalitarian reciprocity and mutual respect between teacher and supervisor while discussing teaching and learning is a worthy project with which to begin.

Notes

- 1 See the comments of Phil Schlechty in Brandt (1993a).
- 2 This point has not been lost on Flinders (1991), who, writing on changing supervisors' relationships with teachers, wrote that: 'This concern is in keeping with the etymology that connects the word *communication* with the word *community* ... communication implies a process of coming together' (p. 105).
- 3 'The idealized image of community' also bothered the Russian anthropological linguist, Mikhail Bakhtin, upon whose writing much of this chapter is based. Caryl Emerson (1993) states that Bakhtin was 'reluctant to grant any authority to group identity' and was 'suspicious of organization and "tediology"'.¹
- 4 For example, note the success the women's movement has had in changing not only popular language, but popular thinking as well. Such changes are recursive and occur at fundamental levels of consciousness.
- 5 Though this is held to be true for *all* current and past models or approaches to supervision, the critique here will center mainly on the approach known as clinical supervision, perhaps the most benign and responsive of supervision models, the implication being that if the criticisms here apply to clinical supervision, then they are true for the other approaches as well.

- 6 Recent interpretation, analysis and application of Bakhtin's work has propelled renewed academic interest in language, culture and cultural studies. See for example Todorov (1984), Hirschkop (1986), Hirschkop and Shepherd (1989), Barsky and Holquist (1990), Holquist (1990), Gardiner (1992), Hall (in press).
- 7 This convention, that of writing of modernity rather than of the postmodern, is employed throughout this book.
- 8 Todorov (1984) equates translinguistics with the current term 'pragmatics' and its meaning. Todorov refers to Bakhtin as 'the modern founder of this discipline' (1984: 24).
- 9 These authors write of the differences between "hard" data and "soft" data' (Acheson and Gall 1992: 186), privileging the former. True, they do provide the qualification that 'all data are more or less subjective', but that is as near as they come to admitting that all so-called data are value-laden, and therefore suspect.
- 10 Granted, some may view the present project as an appropriation or colonization of Bakhtin and his work. After all, Bakhtin was concerned with text and discourse in the text. However, the extension of the dialogic principle to real-life dialogue is natural and, in fact, may be said to have been anticipated by Bakhtin himself. He, perhaps more than others, was aware of the subsequent readings and rereadings, interpretations and reinterpretations a text goes through – a process he referred to as 're-accentuation': 'Every age re-accentuates in its own way the works of its most immediate past. The historical life of classic works is in fact the uninterrupted process of their social and ideological re-accentuation. Thanks to the intentional potential embedded in them, such works have proved capable of uncovering in each era and against ever new dialogizing backgrounds ever newer aspects of meaning; their semantic content literally continues to grow, to further create out of itself. Likewise their influence on subsequent creative works inevitably includes re-accentuation' (Bakhtin 1981a: 421).

Others have looked to Bakhtin for support in their ideological projects. Hirschkop (1986: 104) adroitly describes the ideological tug-of-war that politicizes Bakhtin's work resulting, he believes, from the ambiguity of the original: 'Conditions of ideological struggle, rather than subjective attitudes, define the shape of dialogism and monologism. Not surprisingly, differences in the political inflection of Bakhtin interpretation derive from this central ambiguity. For the liberal theorist, the novel [or the dialogic principle] symbolizes the ideal condition of discourse we would all enjoy if only we recognized our constitutively social nature. For the Left, however, dialogism tends to be the local tactic whereby the popular subverts the ideology of that part of the social, the ruling class, whose function is exploitation.'

Though in the present work I am more inclined toward Hirschkop's caricature of the liberal project, I am not about to neglect the ideological (i.e. political) implications of Bakhtin's terms and concepts within the real-life contexts of supervision.

- 11 See Todorov (1984: 3–13) on Bakhtin's biographical particulars.
- 12 Emerson (1993) notes Bakhtin's three major concepts, or contributions to the world of ideas:

- 1 *prosaics*, 'that deep preference for irregularities of prose' as opposed to the regularities of poetry, and 'also a view of the world that sees messiness and particularity';
- 2 *dialogue and understanding of the creative process*, that 'any genuine consciousness requires for normal growth the continued interaction of at least two embodied voices'; and
- 3 the belief in *unfinalizability*, particularly 'the virtues of surprise and creativity in everyday life', the belief that one could 'never start anything over fresh', and that 'the past always leaked into the present and left traces'.

- 13 A more recent discussion of this phenomenon is offered by Pierre Bourdieu (1977b) in 'The Economics of Linguistic Exchanges'.
- 14 In his attack on Saussurian linguistics, Bakhtin wrote: 'A passive understanding of linguistic meaning is no understanding at all' (1981a: 281).
- 15 Each of these concepts represents an ideal end-state, hardly ever realized in actuality.
- 16 These two concepts, the authoritative and the internally persuasive discourses, are roughly equivalent to Bruner's (1985) paradigmatic and narrative modes of thought respectively.
- 17 Hargreaves (1990) writes on the differences between teacher and administrator cultures, especially as regards different perspectives on time. Administrators, notes Hargreaves, tend toward a monochronic view of time; teachers, especially elementary teachers, are enveloped in a polychronic environment.
See Hall's (1983) *The Dance of Life* for a complete discussion of the many different types of time and the effects differing views of time have on how people both organize their lives and interpret others' lives.
- 18 Nolan and Frances (1992) encourage supervisors to gather data through other than paper-and-pencil means. I am not so sure that they would go so far as to recommend that the supervisor gather no explicit (external) data.
- 19 Thanks to John Elliott (personal communication, April 9 1993) for planting the seed of this cognitive dissonance in me.
- 20 Thanks to Andy Hargreaves (personal communication, May 1993) for clarifying this for me.
- 21 Understanding the teacher and the teacher's perspective was one of the original goals of clinical supervision (Goldhammer 1969), since lost in the press of modernity.

Creating Environments for Moral, Egalitarian Dialogue: Supervisors and Teachers As Partners in a Professional Community

As we have seen, instructional supervision is an interactional achievement and more. It is also a thought process, and can be a thoughtful process, involving administrators, supervisors, teachers, parents, auxiliary staff and students in discussions about and changes in learning, on everyone's part. To paraphrase Gregory Bateson's (1972) notions, the system learns from the feedback it receives. All parts of that system can and should contribute to the feedback, to the input into decisions affecting the systems of which they are a part. To do otherwise would be to deny and negate strides made in participatory decision making and democracy in schools. Just how to amplify the systems' feedback and what such processes would mean for schools and those within them is the subject of this chapter.

First, no one should be excluded a priori from the decision making/learning process, no one should be excluded by definition. To do so assigns real people to the category of the Other, marginalizes them and places them beyond the pale. Rather, instructional leaders (however they choose to define themselves) must spend time in deciding what constitutes a particular community (that is, the stakeholders) for any arena of decisions to be agreed upon and enacted. This question is at the heart of Glickman's (1993) book, *Renewing America's Schools* (though Glickman concentrates more heavily on areas of instructional decisions). Not only should these areas affecting instruction be decided upon and those decisions reviewed periodically, the *processes* by which the decisions are made and, perhaps more importantly, those processes by which the decisions made are implemented should also be open to the purview of those affected.

These decisions, those of who constitutes the immediate and appropriate community, are not to be entered into lightly. Indeed in other fields much discussion has centered around just how to define a community (Bloomfield 1933, Benhabib 1992, Sergiovanni 1992, Etzioni 1993, Lyotard 1993). Often, it is not known who will be affected by any particular decision until after it has been implemented for some time, and only upon thoughtful reflection on the implementation's consequences. That is why decisions must always be open

to reconsideration, and not only the decisions themselves, but who is to be allowed input into them, at what stage, how they are to be implemented, their effects assessed and changes made.

Supervisors and other educational leaders can facilitate these processes. At the heart, these issues really are issues of communication, issues of voice. One way in which supervisors can facilitate this process is for them to act as advocates for those who will be affected, as champions of the disempowered. In operationalizing this maxim we encounter our first major problem, for putting this idea into practice may entail large amounts of time on the instructional leader's part and often taking time to, for instance, research a problem and delineating who the affected stakeholders are, runs counter to prevailing modes of operation in schools, where leaders are valorized for 'thinking on their feet' and where professional educators are socialized to an action, rather than a cognitive, orientation (see Hargreaves 1984, 1990, 1994). Time is a problem.

Schools are ruled by time, its cycles, and perhaps most of all, the way we conceive of it and its effects (Hall 1983; Clandinin 1985; Hargreaves 1990, 1994). We are slaves to time. Bells, clocks, schedules, age-graded cohorts,¹ standardized assessment, teacher evaluation, bus routes, lesson and unit plans, and adages such as 'don't let them see you smile til Christmas' and 'it's a full-moon day, the children are crazy', *all* and more reflect our obsession with time and the imposition of our culture's standard conception of time on our institutions, especially schools. Though it is true (from a functionalist perspective) that our conception of time performs some function, allows us to operate in a certain way, it is also true that it inhibits other ways of acting. (As examples, think, if you will, of the sanctions visited upon a teacher if his or her children are consistently late arriving to physical education classes, or if they don't progress through the texts at what is considered an appropriate rate.) Opening up our schools and their organization will require that we open up our thinking about time.²

Size of schools and other organizational features will need to be rethought if schools are to become, as Hargreaves (1994) so poignantly puts it, more flexible and responsive to changing times and changing demands. Size and the number of participants in an interaction are limiting features of communication (Scollon 1981b). The more people you have in an interaction, the less each is able to negotiate the type of interaction he or she desires. (Think of the difference between, say, a lecture and a seminar.) The debate about class size essentially centers on this issue, but the issue is relevant for the size of organizations as well as the size of classes.

Educational leaders have been experimenting with the 'school within a school' concept, and other variations on standard time and space their apportionment. As Hargreaves (1994) and Giddens (1990) argue however, time, along with space, are two of the primary casualties of a radicalized modernity. The trend to distantiation through time and space is not likely to abate. Yet schools and school leaders are simply tinkering with alternative models of school organization in seeking to bend time and space to grander purposes of

schools and schooling. This is hardly enough. What we are in dire need of are educational leaders, true visionaries, who will put into place radically different organizations with their fundamentally different organizational structures so that those grander purposes of schooling will be protected, no, nurtured, in postmodern times).

One of the first consequences of the distantiating of time and space wrought by radicalized modernity is the erosion of relationships and community, in a word, humaneness.⁴ Others have written about the affective side of education and the conditions necessary for the affective development of students (Rogers 1971; McDermott 1977; Noddings 1984; Eisner 1991). In applying the understanding gleaned from studies of the affective development of students to that of adults, teachers and supervisors, it is obvious that attention needs to be paid to the contexts – the structures and processes – in which adults work if humane, caring and egalitarian relationships are to flourish between supervisor and teacher and between teachers themselves. Often times, unfortunately, these environments are *not* attended to in any systematic way.

Simply put, the institutions in which teachers and supervisors work should become flexible and ever-renewing, yet supportive. Ecologists speak of biodiversity as a desirable goal. Yet such diversity must be planned and managed. It will not come about haphazardly and by coincidence. In human systems, diversity is a strength which also needs to be thoughtfully managed, nurtured and protected. Eugene Odum (1994), the so-called 'father of ecology', speaks of systems that are mutualistic. He gives as an example the coral reef, where resources are limited and where the ecological systems and the species within them have evolved to be mutually supporting. The lessons to be learned for humans from systems like coral reefs, says Odum, is that when faced with questions of limited resources, we must 'think positive and suggest alternatives. Don't say "no" all the time . . . If you get crowded, you have to get more mutualistic.'

Fostering alternatives is a worthy goal for school leaders, supervisors and other administrators alike. Realization of this goal is a measure of how far the field of supervision has come.⁴ With this end in mind – that of seeking out and fostering alternatives – the present book and alternative models or approaches presented herein should *not* be taken as simply another new orthodoxy. These alternative approaches are simply a few of the many possible alternatives available. Still, supervisors and other instructional leaders must act to identify alternatives to instructional development and school organization. Once identified, these alternatives must be nurtured. They must be assessed and, perhaps, reworked based upon that feedback.

Simply identifying and initiating alternatives to traditional instructional improvement and conventional school organizational structures is but the beginning. These alternatives, like the biodiversity spoken of above, must be thoughtfully managed. This thoughtful management involves many processes – processes that include some traditional supervisory tasks such as curriculum development, staff development and instructional improvement (Oliva 1989);

some extensions of the traditional supervisory tasks, such as group development and action research (Glickman 1990); some other processes such as those discussed in Chapters 5 and 6; and some supervisory processes that have yet to be conceived.

The moral, thoughtful management of instructional development, of supervisory *systems*, may entail conscientious resistance by supervisors themselves to regimes of domination and hegemony. (This again is another indication of how far the field of supervision has come.) It may be, as suggested in Chapter 5, but really only hinted at there, that supervisors may serve as buffers, power buffers, to protect teachers from regimes of domination. Indeed, 'fending off interference from the environment' has been listed as a task function of the leadership role, along with those of

initiating group action, predicting outcomes for various actions, training group members . . . keeping members' attention on the goals, clarifying issues, evaluating work done, [and] making expert information available. (Oja and Smulyan 1989: 144)

As an, albeit mild, example of this in practice, I can offer my ethnographic observations of supervisors in the state of Georgia. Supervisors and other administrators in Georgia are charged with observing and evaluating teachers with an instrument based on Madeline Hunter's (1973) model of instruction. According to the state-level mandate, these supervisory observations are to be 'drop in' observations, unannounced. You can only imagine the consternation even the threat of one of these observations causes teachers. The stories of the underground communication systems in place to notify one's fellow teachers when the supervisor is roaming the halls with the infamous yellow pad are legion. Conscientious and sensitive supervisors, principals among them, subvert this system by scheduling their observations and, sometimes if the teacher being observed is obviously not functioning at the level the supervisor knows he or she is capable of, these conscientious souls will scrap the observation, and offer to return some other day.

I question why these supervisors do not organize, rise up, protest and throw off this unrealistic and inhumane system. That's a question to which I have no ready answer. What I am suggesting is that these subversions be documented and legitimized. In fact, I would suggest that supervisors go even further in resisting administrative mandates and processes, like undue amounts of paperwork and unreasonable demands on teachers' time, in fostering diversity among teaching staffs, and go further in identifying and nurturing alternative pedagogies. I suspect that such is the case now, though it is probably the best kept secret in the field of supervision. For as de Certeau (1986) and others (Terdiman, 1985; Lindstrom, 1992) have written, (and as I pointed out in Chapter 4) for each and every ideology, there is a corresponding discourse of resistance.

No doubt, and to the extent that what has been written here can be appropriately termed an ideology, these words will engender resistances also. It is interesting to contemplate what form those resistances might take.

Still, I stand behind what I have written here: that supervision is more than an expert system designed solely to aid in the improvement of instruction. All systems in our schools must be instantiated by living, breathing human beings. Such systems are far from mechanistic, and as such, are imbued with human dreams and aspirations, human feelings and frailties. Such systems are more flesh and blood than mechanistic or bureaucratic.

It is high time that everyone, from governmental education leaders to the schoolchildren and their parents themselves, come to realize the human in what schools and schools' systems do. Recognition of the human in our schools' systems permits recourse to the social sciences (i.e. the humanities) when explanations and understandings are sought in the design, description and reinvention of schooling, supervision included. Sole use of a mechanistic or bureaucratic paradigm to conceive of such systems blinds us to the humanity – with all its glories and potential for atrocity – of those who populate those systems and which, by definition, must enact them. Such blindness not only limits the possibilities of schooling, but does symbolic violence to teachers, students, supervisors and other school leaders.

What I have tried to do in these pages is to show just how truly human supervision is. After exposing the humanity of supervision, I have suggested several approaches which I entrust will make supervision even more human, more just, and more equitable. For it is my firmly held belief that supervision, indeed schooling itself, should be about the project of liberating human beings, not subjugating them as in the past.

Notes

- 1 When someone is 'ready' for school more often is felt to be associated with his or her chronological, as opposed to developmental or cognitive, age. Recently I experienced firsthand the effects of educators' intransigence concerning this phenomenon as my wife and I wrestled with the decision to promote our daughter, Tamara, from first grade to second in the middle of the academic school year. Fortunately, and to their credit, the local school officials gave us the major responsibility for making the decision. But, as I anguished over the decision, I was involved in a series of consultations with teachers in another district. Seeking input, I queried all with whom I came into contact and, not surprisingly, though it's still puzzling, to the last person, all recommended my daughter *not* be promoted. Reasons were given as to the fact that she will be able to drive a car a year after her compatriots, date later, etc. I believe we acted in my daughter's best interest in working to get her promoted; she's happy in her current classroom. However, to the educators I asked, this seemed almost an abomination of nature, that a 6-year-old should be in second grade, and they warned me of the horrors they saw which were to be visited on her and me in time to come.
- 2 See Hall (1985) for various conceptions of time.
- 3 Giddens (1990) writes of the movement to trusting in expert systems over known individuals and their expertise in this regard.
- 4 Recall that historically, supervisors were charged with enforcing curricular mandates, with standardization and normalization (see Introduction).

Appendix: Teacher-Supervisor Conferences

Bea and Faye: 6 June 1989

- 1 Faye: ((first few seconds missed)) () *why?*
- 2 Bea: u::h=
- 3 Faye: -in *what* ^way?
- 4 Bea: Well (1.9) ((noise of students in class)) hh
- 5 huh (2.0) I *think* - *we* were doing *that* with
- 6 and- *real* (feel inside) getting - *o:ver* the
- 7 *fact* that *that's* their ^*peers*: up *there*
- 8 Faye: ye- *ob* I -see: I s- I *bea:rd* you men
- 9 Bea: yeah I¹ I am¹
- 10 Faye: tioning *that* ₁way: >like< are you *talking*
- 11 Bea: y eah¹
- 12 Faye: about the ^*sc:ne*, are you *talking* about the
- 13 *prob-lem*.
- 14 Bea: and ^*then* the *other*=
- 15 Faye: =*reality* of °the *prob-lem*.°
- 16 Bea: yeah *then* the *other* thing is >is< (1.1) u:m
- 17 - *not* knowing *really* what - *questions* to
- 18 -ask, so - the *respon:s:e* - from the *kids* >I
- 19 felt *like*< *some*°*times* - >I just< (1.4) *that:t*
- 20 I *wasn't* asking ((electronic bell)) the
- 21 *right* ques-tions, - to get the *respon:s:e*s
- 22 that *we* - *that* were necessary. But I *wasn't*
- 23 *really* *sure* - how -to - so
- 24 Faye: ye¹ab - I *bear*
- 25 -*you*. - *Where's* ^*your*: - *little* crib-sheet -
- 26 *BECAUSE* - UH (1.0) *it should* have - ^*eVOLVED*
- 27 -*ba:ck*,
- 28 Bea: uh huh
- 29 Faye: and (0.4) uh - I *noticed* - *that* you - *forgot*
- 30 to do ₁*that*
- 31 Bea: >yeab<¹ I >and I know I was doin'
- 32 *it*, but I *didn't* know how to< *change*: it hh

- 33 Faye: h and *th* – *the* intent of *this* ques-*tion*
 34 (0.5) is – to *de-al*: (0.7) *sometimes* you the-
 35 it *helps* me to word 'em into another °(kind of)
 36 question° – *what* you *want* to *-do* – what
 37 you *^want* – from *this* question, is *simply*
 38 >*kids* have you seen *this* happen *-before?* –
 39 see you *wanna*< – *FOCUS* 'em on the *scene*.
 40 (1.0) *And* get *-away* from the *enactment*,
 41 and- they'll *say* – h *no*: and then you- –
 42 and you *say no* >have you *ever* seen this –
 43 ^*kind* of *-thing*< – happen – *-before*=
 44 Bea: =°OK°
 45 Faye: SO (0.3) *the answer* – to *this* is ^yes or
 46 *-no*:
 47 Bea: °OK°
 48 Faye: *EITHER* (0.2) *yeah* *this* kind- – and- – if
 49 they're saying *oh* – *that* person – *never* –
 50 ^I'd *never* see *some-body* (0.4) talk like
 51 *-that*, or I'd
 52 *never* see *somebody*
 53 Bea: um hum¹
 54 Faye: do it like *that* >or *whatever* lit,tle *th*ing
 55 Bea: um hum¹
 56 Faye: they ^*are*< h *then* you know you've – got °to
 57 do *intent* and use – (then you back up some)°
 58 – UH >let me see if I can ask it another
 59 *-way*< – ^have you seen *this* kind of – *whole*:
 60 *thing* (0.6) ^*un*^*fold* – >°in *front* of your
 61 *-eyes?*< – *this* whole *-scene?*°=
 62 Bea: =um=
 63 Faye: =Is this *-scene* – realistic? Is *what* you're
 64 just *ask*ing (0.2) and *then* – if you *just*
 65 write up *here* – *yes*: – or *-no*: (0.2)
 66 >*Whatever* they *-say*< – if they *say* –
 67 N::*OBODY* would do *that* – °they're *making* a
 68 *value judgment* – *right* *-there*° – when you
 69 say – *-no*:
 70 Bea: OK:
 71 Faye: *because* – *-no*: – I don't see this kinda
 72 *-scene*: – in the *real* *-world*. – *that* kinda
 73 stuff ^*ne-ver*: happens – and so – *then* you
 74 write – *no* – *right there* (0.4) *AND* you would
 75 expect them ^*not* to be able to *finish* – the
 76 *-rest* – *because* – they've *never* seen any
 77 *such thing* HAP ^PEN in the *real*

- 78 Bea: O-OK so th-¹ I see:
 79 Faye: -world - ^O-K so then - *what* are the
 80 ^*feel-ings* of the *play-ers*? - you should've
 81 -*bad* - *two* - *feelings* (0.3) the ^*tea-cher*:
 82 - and - the - *stu-dent*.
 83 Bea: OK
 84 Faye: AND - you should've *named* - na-un- - you
 85 *don't* name *that* person a - *thief* -
 86 ((laughter in voice)) *pick out a name* -
 87 *other* than *thief*.
 88 Bea: OK hhh
 89 Faye: and I d- - uh °I don't *know* whatchu'd call
 90 *that* person° >but *some-thin*< - >I *mean* just
 91 *write* down< *every* time *they* say - this
 92 *person* may have *felt* - ^*this* -*way*: - *this*
 93 -*way*: - *just* jot it -*down* =
 94 Bea: =OK=
 95 Faye: =*How* would the *teacher* -*feel*? -
 96 | (angry)
 97 Bea: *those* were -*my*^ *in* ^*ten-tions* - *but* I *didn't*
 98 *do* it. hhhhh ((laughs))
 99 Faye: °well you *will* - *next* time°
 100 Bea: ^*yeah*
 101 Faye: AND -*THEN*: (0.3) *WHAT* WAS ((another teacher
 102 enters asking for stopwatches)) *THE* *RESULT*
 103 *OF* *THIS* (1.0) *WHOLE* *SCENE*?
 104 Bea: On my ^*desk*.
 105 Faye: That's ^*all* *right*
 106 O/E: I'm sorry.
 107 Bea: hhhhh
 108 Faye: *WHAT* *YOU* *WOULD* expect *here*, - is *both* are
 109 -*mad*. - I *think* - *one* *thing* that's °gonna
 110 help *you* the *most* - is *clarify* the *intent* of
 111 *these* questions.° (0.7) >When you sit ^*back*
 112 and *look* at this< - *whole* *sce-ne*: (0.5)
 113 *what's* gonna *hap-pen*? - *How* are *these* people
 114 gonna - *feel* about what *went* on - *la-ter*?
 115 Bea: um hum
 116 Faye: ^*Like* - the *tea-cher's* not gonna *trust* -
 117 *that* kid *later*.
 118 Bea: °um - hum°
 119 Faye: The *KID'S* gonna - *think* - they can - *keep*
 120 *stealing* 'cause they got *away* with it.
 121 Bea: um hum -(OK)
 122 Faye: ^So *th'at's* *what* you would expect

- 123 as a *result* of *that* first *-scene*, so see it
 124 *really* does – *follow* in a=
- 125 *Bea:* =*yeah* – *it* *does*=
- 126 *Faye:* =*FIRST* – *PREDICT* *WHAT*'s gonna *happen* as a
 127 *result* of this *-scene* – now when *Dorothy* did
 128 *^hers*, she *predicted* (0.2) *another way*, like
 129 *you did* – and so *that* was the next *-scene*.
 130 – *Well* that *kinda* gotchu into *^trou-ble* –
 131 when they – *predicted* – that *they* were gonna
 132 *punch -out* – and – *I* – *could not* (0.6)
 133 *^lis-ten*° – *I* *tried* to stay *out* of *it*, but *I*
 134 *could NOT* leave *-it* *I* *could n ot*
- 135 *Bea:* *OH I'M GLAD* – *you d'id* *tha t's* *fine*°
- 136 *Faye:* *lea ve* – *that* because *it* – *e*° *^volved* so
- 137 *Bea:* °*that's fine*°
- 138 *Faye:* – *naturally* – *that* – >*it* got *-worse*<
- 139 *Bea:* um hum um hum um hum
- 140 *Faye:* >*th*'at it *^es-calated*< once¹
- 141 *you use* an *^es-ca-lat-ion*: – whether it
 142 *involves* *t-* *I* mean *they* were just *^thrilled*
 143 – *because* here's a *scene* they hadn't *seen*
 144 *-before*=
- 145 ((*Bea* goes to window))
- 146 *Bea:* =*I'm jus-* *concerned* that *my kids* are out
 147 *-there* ((at recess)) with no *supervision*
- 148 *Faye:* *OH*!°
- 149 *well* you'd *better* get out *^the re*, *-then*.
- 150 *Bea:* *^no*° *be's*
- 151 *still* out *-there* – *that's* good (1.2) >*just*
 152 let me *-check* and make *-sure*< – *^O-K*=
- 153 *Faye:* =*the* – *intent* of *this question* – *is*: (0.8)
 154 *if*: – *you were*=
- 155 *Bea:* =*oh*, *I forgot* to take
 156 *my* ()
- 157 *Faye:* *IF* – *YOU WERE -TAKING*° – °a *pen-cil* – at the
 158 *end*° see what you're *after* *^here*: – *IS* –
 159 *THEM* to *th-ink*
- 160 *Bea:* UM HUM=
- 161 *Faye:* =*about each scene* – and the *result* of *each*
 162 *-scene*. (0.2) And to *jus-* *decide* right
 163 *-now* (0.5) °*if you* were in the *position* of
 164 *taking* a *pencil* (*-now*) – *you* *^did* – *you*
 165 *thought* you *needed* a *pencil* and – *took*
 166 *it outta* the *-desk* – *you*
- 167 *Bea:* hum

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- 168 Faye: were caught red -banded^o - you ^NEEDED -it.
- 169 Bea: hum
- 170 (1.1)
- 171 Faye: And (0.7) the teacher saw you do -it. (0.6)
- 172 May:be you took it because you were just -
- 173 borrowing it for a minute - >you were gonna
- 174 to put it -back<
- 175 Bea: um hum
- 176 (0.7)
- 177 Faye: but the teacher - saw you do -it. ^How would
- 178 you res-pond? (0.8) Right ^now - to-day
- 179 Bea: u:m 'K - I've got that part -
- 180 com₁pletely .
- 181 Faye: ^oand try -tho'se^o - SO YOU JUST -ge:t - a
- 182 quick (0.8) re-view:: of ^ALL the
- 183 Bea: OK ¹
- 184 Faye: -sce:nes - in the -minds - of the -kids - and
- 185 (0.6) not a real -biggie - but a
- 186 commit-ment.
- 187 Bea: OK (0.4) -h >and I don't know
- 188 wh₁y I forgot it<
- 189 Faye: And ask - them¹ - to re-pond. (1.0) U:H
- 190 - bu- - wh₁t you -did - was you laid your -
- 191 sta-ges, (2.2) the kids were - ^moderate-ly
- 192 in-volved - and the rea-son ^oI think they
- 193 were not^o ^more -involved than they ^were -
- 194 was - >because of that - first ques-tion.<
- 195 Bea: O^K
- 196 Faye: I think they jus- (0.9) u::h got ^off - on
- 197 the reality of the -scene, like you said -
- 198 you picked it ^up - and I think they ^did -
- 199 they - they said - oh this - teacher - a
- 200 teacher ^onever ()^o=
- 201 Bea: =um hum=
- 202 Faye: =and they weren't - LOOKing at the -whole
- 203 picture -
- 204 Bea: they were n't?
- 205 Faye: they were-¹ they -weren't -
- 206 contextua₁LIZING THOSE
- 207 Bea: (well I)¹
- 208 Faye: ROLES -h
- 209 Bea: wh₁t do I ^do if that hap₁^pens?
- 210 Faye: YOU sta₁bilize it
- 211 right -here: (0.4) you - say: (0.3) you::
- 212 say - yea:h ther- they - acted - like -

- 213 [^]this – but – look at the whole -thing
214 ((knock)) – have you ever -seen – a
215 [^]tea-cher –
216 Bea: °K°
217 Faye: accuse a [^]child, and the [^]child denies -it.
218 Bea: ((Bea gets up to speak to person at door))
219 do you need – to go [^]in?
220
221
222
223 Bea: no – 'bout three or four minutes – is all I
224 -need ((door closes))
225 Faye: so – so: – the kids were moderately
226 in-volved
227 Bea: um |hum|
228 Faye: only¹ because – they got off on the
229 reality of the character:s – and – rather
230 than the whole °scene°
231 Bea: OK |
232 Faye: AND¹ YOU HAVE to redirect that early –
233 Bea: uh huh¹
234 Faye: or they're gonna lose it the rest of the
235 way -through=
236 Bea: = >couldchu gimme an exam-ple< – how I'd do
237 Faye: hhhh
238 -right [^]here.
239 Bea: that? just go |back – and say
240 Faye: You'd SAY – WHEN THEY –
241 START TELLING YOU -no (0.3) that- with your
242 first ques.tion – after the [^]enact-ment – if
243 they start (0.4) giving you feed-back – that
244 the tea-cher would never hold their hand
245 that -way,
246 Bea: uh huh
247 Faye: I would never see – a kid (0.2) keep saying
248 -no -no -no=
249 Bea: =oh OK
250 Faye: use- – you correct it right here >y ou say
251 Bea: OK
252 Faye: no look at the whole-< picture (0.6) be-fore
253 in your [^]life – have you – ever – seen – in
254 this [^]school – a tea-cher – say to a
255 [^]child, I saw you do some-thing >the child
256 says< [^]no: – the teacher says – I saw you
257 doing °it° >The child says< [^]nO: – a –

- 258 CHILD totally deny:: (0.5) taking something
 259 when someone's seen him do it. Oh
 260 then they'll say - ^sure:
 261 Bea: OK
 262 Faye: because they've seen that hap-pen.
 263 Bea: >OK.<
 264 (0.9)
 265 Faye: SO ,HERE'S where you have to set the ,stage
 266 with th₁at first question again
 267 Bea: all right | u,m hum
 268 Faye: so th₁at's
 269 where you'd make your correction ,then°
 270 Bea: °OK°
 271 Faye: UH - >did the students< des^cribe the
 272 charac-ter-s, - na:h °you forgot that
 273 (^part°
 274 Bea: (° 1 | - forgot that part°)
 275 Faye: WERE - ALTERNative ,beha^vior-s yes. ^Were
 276 the enact-ments - discussed and ana-lyzed -
 277 °yes:s° (0.2) didchu make the kind of -
 278 mo-ves - didch- did they re-flect? - ^And
 279 did they summa-rize. - ^Have you seen that
 280 happen be-fore - now that's a key:: -
 281 discussion °strategy° (0.7) HAVE you seen
 282 that hap-pen? - ^think ,back - ^is this a
 283 real ,scene (2.2) what hap-pened - so these
 284 - two discussion skills are °critical to
 285 your - role play° - the analy^sis of the
 286 fee-ling-s - you did get to (1.2) >UH< - it
 287 would've been - more - explicit - it
 288 would've gotten you where you - ^wan-ted -
 289 to ,be. - if you - hadn't talked about - the
 290 feeling about - the ,scene.
 291 Bea: OK₁
 292 Faye: ta'lk about the - ^reality of the ,scene
 293 Bea: °OK°
 294 Faye: and¹ the fee-ling-s of the people
 295 play-ing.
 296 Bea: OK
 297 (0.7)
 298 Faye: U:M (0.7) the analysis of the behavioral
 299 reali-ty: °yeab they talked about that a
 300 lot hhh° ,h an- the consequences - OF the
 301 ac-tion: - now inSTEAD of saying - what was
 302 the reSULT of this - whole ,scene.

- 303 *Beat*: um hum
 304 *Faye*: you got - uh - *they* thought of another *way* -
 305 *Beat*: um hum=
 306 *Faye*: =to *-act-* - So you *went to another way* -
 307 *rather than the consequences of °this -*
 308 *whole kind of uh sce,nario°*
 309 *Beat*: OK
 310 *Faye*: U:h - *did they genera-lize >whatda you*
 311 *^think?< do you think your kids left here*
 312 *with - a (1.0) °way: - of dealing with that*
 313 *problem°*
 314 *Beat*: °No - I don't ^think they *-did° - because I*
 315 *th- I don't think they were in tune with*
 316 *what was goi- I don- th- I ^didn't feel*
 317 *comfor.table*
 318 (0.4)
 319 *Faye*: I think it's °right,° and I think you're
 320 *right - I think it was right here=*
 321 *Beat*: =yeah=
 322 *Faye*: =I think we °got off right there°
 323 *Beat*: um hum
 324 *Faye*: and they *needed* - uh - *ET^ther - explanation*
 325 *°at the beginning,°*
 326 *Beat*: um 'K
 327 *Faye*: it's - realistic to tell 'em (0.4) that
 328 you're gonna *play* something you've *seen*
 329 (0.6) you've seen *kids*
 330 *Beat*: >SEE° I didn't know
 331 whether- a- because *see - the boy* that was
 332 in the very *back:< (0.9) Cody? - um - he -*
 333 *he is. I mean I have a huge bag - he's - he*
 334 *has done -that. A lot*
 335 *Faye*: um hum
 336 *Beat*: and the *reason - I didn't call on him -today*
 337 *is just because he's been totally off the*
 338 *-wall and so (0.6) ha:ving him up there -*
 339 *participating >would've been a very bad<*
 340 *-choice. Because - he would have - just*
 341 *been (0.4) more obnoxious - that he was by*
 342 *sitting back there - stac^king: - .books*
 343 *around and doing the things that he's- ^IN*
 344 *-FACT - he's been so bad throughout the*
 345 *whole schoo:l - that - somebody said - if*
 346 *Faye's coming to watch - today you don't*
 347 *wanna be sabotaged by Cody - >send him outta*

- 348 the -room - and I didn't - do that
 349 Faye: do - uh - yet - but - some^t ti mes - his -
 350 thorough - involvement in it
 351 (0.9)
 352 Bea: well we tried al-ready
 353 Faye: cut^ ou ts^ the behavior -
 354 But you're saying that wouldn't work for
 355 Bea: it
 356 Faye: ()
 357 Bea: Di dn't w: it hasn't worked so -far -
 358 today - >an I'd< - 'cause I was really going
 359 to ^use: -him
 360 Faye: is ^HE - the reason you picked ^the
 361 prob-lem?
 362 Bea: yeah (0.9) -he ^is=
 363 Faye: =SO he's the one it would've been - most -
 364 re-leva nt to
 365 Bea: right
 366 Faye: act-ually:
 367 Bea: but - so far to-day: - in everything I-
 368 I've tried
 369 Faye: DID HE^ VOLUN^TEER? I didn't - see
 370 Did he volunteer to be a play-er?
 371 Bea: he came ^up - to the - ^class-room and said
 372 - I want ^to - >^be one of the play-ers^<
 373 Faye: ^hh uh huh - So he really wanted - but you -
 374 didn't want him to be, because of his
 375 behav^tor ^today^
 376 Bea: (be cause^ - of his) - behavior
 377 today - be-cause - I'd already given him -
 378 many- chances - (then) he - be - but a kid -
 379 in the -head (0.4) he - un=
 380 Faye: =right=
 381 Bea: =you know - just - totally off the wall -
 382 witho- uh- - he took - the time -clock -
 383 spun it around - knocked somebody in the
 384 -head - (an-)
 385 Faye: ^un hun^ DO YOU^ THINK - BEING A
 386 PLAYER WOULD'VE MADE - this - um -
 387 >situation< - meaningful to -him?
 388 Bea: no - not to-day - be-cause - he ((clears
 389 throat)) (2.3) he would have made a cir-cus
 390 - >a three-ring circus< out of -it - ^up
 391 there - to-day. He would have - um
 392 Faye: So you can say

- 393 *Bea:* just gone - o:¹ff - the wa₁ll
 394 *Faye:* EV¹EN THOUGH
 395 THIS - you - real-ly - picked this - because
 396 - be's >the one< - >I'll tell you what< the
 397 reason I'm - saying this is - many times -
 398 -when there's >been a problem< in the
 399 ro:om, - it is be-cause - of the target
 400 ^kid.
 401 *Bea:* um hum
 402 *Faye:* And - almost invariably - they wanna be in
 403 the -play.
 404 *Bea:* >um hum and dickhu see the other little girl
 405 that - raised her band and said yes she
 406 wanted to do the argu^ment with the
 407 tea-cher?< - >but then she said< no (0.5)
 408 sb:e argues with me - e::xact-ly that way:
 409 *Faye:* °um h₁um°
 410 *Bea:* in fa¹ct wer- - we have an a^lert - for
 411 the um
 412 *Faye:* um hum
 413 *Bea:* owl squad -today.
 414 *Faye:* =°um hum°=
 415 *Bea:* =And her parents have been called - and
 416 aler.ted=
 417 *Faye:* =°um hum°=
 418 *Bea:* =because - of -ber
 419 *Faye:* AND - SOME-times - when the play-ers - ARE
 420 - the real peo-ple - but you'd - you never
 421 call on 'em unless - they wanna -play.
 422 *Bea:* °yeah° see sb₁e RAISED HER -HAND T-
 423 *Faye:* but THEY KNOW HOW TO¹ Do -it -
 424 *Bea:* [-yeah
 425 *Faye:* real ly -we'll=
 426 *Bea:* =um hum
 427 *Faye:* and - when the play-ers are the real peo-ple
 428 (0.9) a:nd - a kid will -say - they act like
 429 that
 430 *Bea:* u:m:
 431 (0.9)
 432 *Faye:* this isn't a -scene - that person really
 433 acts like [-tha:t
 434 *Bea:* u m hum¹
 435 *Faye:* and it's - very revealing to the person
 436 th₁at the kids -
 437 *Bea:* um hum¹

- 438 Faye: *can - pre-dic₁t* ₁so
- 439 Bea: *I wish I ha'dn't - been - so -*
- 440 *afraid to do -that - I wish I hadn't had*
- 441 Faye: *we'll - it isn't like this is gonna to go*
- 442 *a-way - you can try it again*
- 443 *so,meTIME* hhh
- 444 Bea: *oh - ye's* >oh the thing is -s *that<*
- 445 *they wa- - the kids an- and the kids - I*
- 446 *think they do wa^nna try it again, >I got*
- 447 *the feeling< they'd like to do: - try it*
- 448 *^again,*
- 449 Faye: *uh huh=*
- 450 Bea: *=an,d I-*
- 451 Faye: *>I thⁱnk they do< -too >ahh< >try a*
- 452 *different -prob.lem* ₁so *it's a - whole - new*
- 453 Bea: *um hum¹*
- 454 *right*
- 455 Faye: *and then - try getting these ques-tions so*
- 456 *that you focus more into the - actual*
- 457 *pr ocess of the -sc,ene*
- 458 Bea: *yea h:¹* *hh¹*
- 459 *and ^I: wanna try it again, because -I*
- 460 *^think it - -I think - it can- - could -work*
- 461 *really ^well. (0.3) as long as I -*
- 462 *if (_____) di dn't fe₁el*
- 463 Faye: *it really can¹ - be¹ -use^ful. You*
- 464 *know how Dorothy talked about her kids*
- 465 *^tattling?*
- 466 Bea: *>um hum<*
- 467 Faye: *The thing that came out in her role play -*
- 468 *°she had 'em lined up at the -door (0.3) and*
- 469 *- to go: - to:° li-brary - and - what they*
- 470 *do is take -cuts*
- 471 Bea: *um::*
- 472 Faye: *and the thing that - resulted in (0.8) from*
- 473 *her ^role -play, - was: - in the second*
- 474 *^scene - where - the students - >come in<*
- 475 *A fri-end - who'd allow-ed a kid to come*
- 476 *take -cuts - and then - the two kids*
- 477 *be-hind (0.7) this kid went and told a*
- 478 *^tea-cher*
- 479 Bea: *um::*
- 480 Faye: *and when they discussed that - they said -*
- 481 *how did this kid -feel*
- 482 Bea: *um hum*

- 483 Faye: *kid said* – pretty ^good
 484 Bea: um hum
 485 Faye: *he* – feels like – *he* got -re^venge
 486 Bea: um::
 487 Faye: so: the *tattling prob-lem* in *her* fifth:
 488 *gr-ade* – the ^class recognized _{as a way:} –
 489 Bea: _{u m:}
 490 Faye: *o:f* >getting *even* with the *kid without*
 491 getting in *trouble* with the *figh-ting*<
 492 °because in the *previous* one the *kid*
 493 *fought*.
 494 Bea: °yeah: _{l:} see::°
 495 Faye: And they *both* got^l in *trouble*° – so
 496 if *YOU* wanna *get-* (0.6) if *you* wanna *get*
 497 *re-venge:*, – *you* go *tell* the *tea-cher*.
 498 Bea: um::
 499 Faye: And *then* you *stay* outta *trou-ble* – and (0.8)
 500 °this *kid* gets *it*°
 501 Bea: I see – _{and} I'd- – *that* felt *good*
 502 Faye: _{in fact} – look how this *i's* – I
 503 mean – look how *re^vealing* the_{se} *k ids* *are*
 504 Bea: _{yeah}
 505 Faye: _{when they:} >when *they* give
 506 Bea: _{yeah}
 507 Faye: *you*< *feed*° *back* in *this* way.°
 508 Bea: _h I wish I had done *this* – I wish I had
 509 done *-this* – I woulda been *able* to do *-it* –
 510 *four* weeks *ago*, *because* I *think* – that t-t-
 511 their *reaction* to it *all* an- *re-sponse* –
 512 *every-thing* that would *be* taking *-place* –
 513 *would've* been – *dif-ferent* – than *today*:
 514 Faye: °um hum°
 515 Bea: *next* to the *last* day of *sch-ool* – *today's*
 516 the first school () meeting and the
 517 sched- – t- *the* *kid's* *not* having the *s-*
 518 *scheduling* and stuff=
 519 Faye: =°yeah°=
 520 Bea: =maybe I'm *-wrong*, maybe *it* wouldn't *-be*,
 521 but *it* would *be* *intere, sting* to see how it
 522 Faye: WELL-^l
 523 Bea: *-did*=
 524 Faye: =sometimes this ^works – like it *did* with
 525 *Doro-ty*, it *reveals* a lot of=
 526 Bea: =uh huh=
 527 Faye: =*the* *kids*' – fee-*lings* _h *that* you have

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- 528 *changed* any-thing – particularly that -day
 529 *Bea:* uh huh
 530 *Faye:* I mean – at the *End* of the -day – the *Kids*
 531 *didn't say* – we're gonna use *conflict*
 532 *resolu-tion*. They said we're gonna *punch* ya
 533 *out* if you *tell* the *tea-cher*
 534 *Bea:* (laugh) um hum
 535 *Faye:* *and they* – still ^felt *that* -way – but *it*
 536 *lets her* know *where* they -are.=
 537 *Bea:* =um hum
 538 *Faye:* And – *it* let's ^them kinda -see: – *where*
 539 *they are* >but-< *they did* n't contextualize
 540 *Bea:* °um hum°
 541 *Faye:* ^ *it*, – *they* didn't -see –
 542 *Bea:* °um hum°
 543 *Faye:* *they* didn't ^see: *this* kid's *fee-ling*, *they*
 544 *didn't see* *this* kid's *fee-ling*.
 545 *Bea:* °um hum°
 546 *Faye:* *they* didn't see any ^reason for the -ru-le
 547 *Bea:* um hum
 548 *Faye:* BUT *IT* – *tells* you where you need to go
 549 *Bea:* um:
 550 *Faye:* when you're *through* with *this*=
 551 *Bea:* = >I thought- I just feel comfortable 'bout<
 552 a couple of -things – the *respon-ses* from
 553 some of the *kids* that=
 554 *Faye:* =YES=
 555 *Bea:* = >an' I also felt comfortable< – with – the
 556 *way*: – *Ernie* handled – being a *tea-cher* and
 557 *his* replies t- *the* kids >a lot< 'cause I
 558 think *he* came- i-it showed *that* he um-
 559 *Faye:* Yes:
 560 *Bea:* knew the right
 561 *Faye:* Yes: ye s: you'r players -=
 562 *Bea:* =um hum=
 563 *Faye:* =I thought your *play-ers* revealed a^ lot=
 564 *Bea:* =um hum=
 565 *Faye:* =when you s-ee: – that your *play-ers* – know
 566 the *sc-ene* – so ^well because *they've* seen
 567 it – you ^can come right in *here* and
 568 see- and SAY -THAT
 569 *Bea:* I can- say that >OK<=
 570 *Faye:* =OH ^YEAH feel comfortable saying – h *these*
 571 people seem to know – °just what to do
 572 because *they've* seen it be-fore.°

- 573 Bea: umkay
 574 Faye: i s-
 575 Bea: >A'ND YOU' KNOW' WHEN I ^READ< - .THE - the
 576 pac-ket thatchu gave us - on role play-ing.
 577 it was con-fu^sing because I didn't -
 578 Faye: it's so detail^ed that you- you'd go >^on
 579 Bea: ye^ah:
 580 Faye: and ^on and ^o_n<
 581 Bea: ye^ah=
 582 Faye: =on each little segment - to the point that
 583 you -lose - almost - the purpose of the
 584 whole con-cept
 585 Bea: and: I didn't know - exactly how
 586 much to do and how much - not to do and then
 587 - with- the - what we did in ^class when we
 588 role -played. (it li:-)
 589 Faye: it was ve^ry
 590 abbrevi^ated I kno- bu- tha t's why we do
 591 Bea: -yea^h and so-
 592 Faye: it >clear through< in ^class -hh is - the
 593 ^pa-cket has - more informati.on - than you
 594 - ACTually need but i t's a good
 595 Bea: OK:
 596 Faye: theoretical pa^cket
 597 Bea: yeah I en- d- it was a you
 598 know I:
 599 Faye: and it gives you: - ^once you get through
 600 that packet you have more o:p-tions on how
 601 to use role -play - because we really do
 602 Bea: ^yeah^
 603 Faye: it up pretty good and try to get to the -
 604 source of the prob-lem.
 605 Bea: but I wasn't really sure - which op^tion to
 606 take - or how to really - mince it -down -
 607 so ^that
 608 Faye: ^right^
 609 Bea: everything t- plays out B^UT >NOW I HAVE
 610 Faye: right^ W-
 611 Bea: A BETTER< i^dea:
 612 Faye: >if I^ were you< I'd ask Nancy -
 613 t_o: ju st SEE ^HERS
 614 Bea: ^OK^
 615 Faye: NOW SHE DIDN'T U:se >reflection and
 616 summary,< she used - uh - clarifica^tion
 617 Bea: um -hum

- 618 Faye: *what's another ^one - >what's another ^one,<*
 619 *and extending she kept (0.4) uh so this was*
 620 *- tricky,*
 621 Bea: *um hum:*
 622 Faye: *for b¹er to get to this: - strategy of*
 623 *°discussing°*
 624 Bea: *um^K*
 625 Faye: *But - uh (0.5) it would be good - for her*
 626 *to be able to see .yours - because she*
 627 *would say - oh - >I shoulda done that< or -*
 628 *yep - that worked really .well and it would*
 629 *probably be ^good - for .you to be able to*
 630 Bea: *ye^ah¹*
 631 Faye: *see .hers. If IF she's willing to*
 632 Bea: *°um° I'D ^LI KE - to do .that¹*
 633 Faye: *ex-change.*
 634 Bea: *°yeah° ^O-K - we can talk about*
 635 *i,t-*
 636 Faye: *ALL RIGHT=*
 637 Bea: *⇒ I ME- another .thing< - is I have my u:m*
 638 *(1.4) I have - everything ready to turn in*
 639 *to you - to-day - except for my u-nit. °Can I*
 640 *turn it in on Thurs-day? - ^K there's°=*
 641 Faye: *=an,- - and I'll see you at*
 642 Bea: *fif¹*
 643 Faye: *four->.thirty<*
 644 Bea: *at >four thirty< -h I ^have to*
 645 *recopy my fi-nal. I've - it's in the rough*
 646 *stages. I just have to recopy it for the- -*
 647 *I mean - it's all - writ-ten=*
 648 Faye: *=oh - OK=*
 649 Bea: *=and I haven't-*
 650 Faye: *I: can- - if- - that's not ready by to-night*
 651 *- by Thurs-day*
 652 Bea: *o:h - >well I'm gonna try- I think I'm*
 653 *gonna have some .time< this after.noon - so*
 654 *I thought I could go ahead and do .that. I*
 655 *have it here - with .me, - and then - I*
 656 *have - I turned in my thing .that - from*
 657 *.last term: - to .you - and I have my - u:m*
 658 *(0.8) I turned in the - time*
 659 Faye: *YEs - but I have to °get back to .you - I*
 660 *have to look back through - your file and t-*
 661 *t- con- I marked it .down and penciled .in*
 662 *- but I have to - >make sure - what .time<°*

- 663 Bea: O.K.
 664 Faye: the're's one - more: (0.3)
 665 that you
 666 Bea: >I have an'other one to ^do?<
 667 Faye: we'll - let me talk to you about it -
 668 to-night - when you -come, - so I - you can
 669 look - through your fold.er.
 670 Bea: -oh ^O-K
 671 Faye: Go ahead and - -check things
 672 Bea: O-K: ((sounding deflated))
 673 Faye: and - and see -h ()
 674 Bea: >(I know)! but - I have
 675 Faye: and see
 676 Bea: another one! -here<
 677 Faye: I have to: go back through
 678 >I wouldn't want you to
 679 Bea: O:H!
 680 Faye: have a fit< - until I've gone through your
 681 fol-der if there's any other one in -there.
 682 Bea: OK >because I ^took-< - I -have - another
 683 one ban-dy; th- - >that I did on -Ka^ri<
 684 (0.2) O-K and Kendra - ^yeah - I have
 685 that^ ((walks to desk)) and do you need all
 686 that stuff too, or do you just,
 687 need the fi -nal?
 688 Faye: um hum!
 689 Bea: OK=
 690 Faye: =you just need (that) and (that)
 691 Bea: OK - -great - one's done - and the:n=
 692 Faye: =got ^this one outta the -way for ^th is
 693 Bea: um hum
 694 Faye: -term - all -right=
 695 Bea: = >so that's yur-< - >and then< - >then - the
 696 other one's o' the -time< - >that we did in
 697 Tech-town< (0.2) I turned that in to you
 698 last time >with the one< - from ^last -term.
 699 Faye: right
 700 Bea: OK -hh
 701 Faye: I have that
 702 Bea: I have that. And ^then (0.7) >so
 703 you're sayin' - there's one mo^re?<
 704 Faye: uh no: let ^m e - -check ba:ck - and make
 705 Bea: oh
 706 Faye: sure and see whether I: - just don't have
 707 Bea: OK

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- 708 Faye: *it - checked on my -list, no- un- and it*
 709 *would've been for -last term - it was for*
 710 *your incom-plete, 'cause I star-ted - to*
 711 *cha:nge your incomplete from -last term -hh*
 712 *and I thought (0.2) wh^oops: - -so: - I'll*
 713 *talk to you tonight, WHEN I HAVE IT in*
 714 Bea: *all right - good^l*
 715 Faye: *fr₁ont of - me*
 716 Bea: *^ye:ah^l OK k- because I - I wasn't*
 717 *awa₁re that there was any thing-else*
 718 Faye: *without being - more^l explicit about*
 719 *^it*
 720 Bea: *OK₁*
 721 Faye: *th^lough -Bea - don't get nervous about it*
 722 *- until I: - check it out -more.*
 723 Bea: *sure ('cause I feel)*
 724 Faye: *it just looked on^l my - check sheet*
 725 *(0.2) like - there was another -one - °s.o*
 726 *wait until I check it -out an- - have my*
 727 *facts -down, O^K?°*
 728 Bea: *OK >so then I'll see you at< -four thirty*
 729 *- to-night - an- I- I'll ^have -my - >I*
 730 *have:< - I'll bring -my*
 731 Faye: *ALL right*
 732 Bea: *my - -write ^up*
 733 Faye: *and then we'll do the - uh - fol-der (2.5)*
 734 *Thurs-day °OK° -your - curriculum=*
 735 Bea: *=I HA₁VE*
 736 Faye: *ARE^l YOU DOING - poe^try?*
 737 Bea: *>yeah<=*
 738 Faye: *=°good°=*
 739 Bea: *=>I'M GOING TO ^STICK WITH -IT BECAUSE I*
 740 *I₁ REAL LY LIKE -IT - AN- I WANNA -*
 741 Faye: *°good°^l*
 742 Bea: *I KNOW -THAT -I'LL GET*
 743 Faye: *IT'LL be USE^l-ful*
 744 Bea: *IT'LL BE USE-FUL AND I'LL GET VALUABLE*
 745 *^IN-PUT FROM -YOU THAT I WON'T GET AT*
 746 *ANOTHER ^TIME AND SO I WANT - YOU KNOW -*
 747 *THOSE -THINGS THAT I LEAVE -OUT OR I -DON'T*
 748 *DO I'LL BE ABLE TO - ^find out from -you*
 749 *what I need to ^change.*
 750 Faye: *°Do you know how easy it is to teach (from*
 751 *the beginning)?°*
 752 Bea: *Wow hh - it'd be ^nice ((laughs)) it's gonna*

- 753 be *really* ^*nice* – and I'll love ^*it*
 754 Faye: ((to observer)) well *Dun-can* – do you wanna
 755 ^go: – or are you gonna ^*stay*. Here I *am* –
 756 ^*walkin'* outta *here* and ^*be's* staying' ^*here*
 757 ((laughs)) and *be's* – ^*watching* me –
 758 Bea: ((to observer)) yeah, thank you ((laughs))
 759 Faye: *leave*. It's because – I'm thinking you need
 760 to *be out* on *that play-ground*.
 761 Bea: I'm going ^*out* – I'm gonna *take*=
 762 Faye: =I *SEE YOU* looking out *there* – so –
 763 frequent ly
 764 Bea: I'm gonna t-¹
 765 .
 766 . ((observer asks Bea to sign consent
 767 form and gives Bea a copy))
 768 Faye: *see* you to-night
 769 Bea: thank you *very* ^*much*
 770 Faye: good-bye

Kari and Kendra: 7 June 1989

Pre-conference

- 1 Kendra: ((first few seconds missed)) (did you write
 2 these yourself?)
 3 Kari: ^yeah (0.6) *gives* me more ^ques^tions (0.4)
 4 and then (0.3) *hopefully* (0.5) we *can* get
 5 through ^*that* then the *second* half of the
 6 *period* will go: (0.5) how they *re^spond* to
 7 ^*those* ques^tions ((clears throat)) yeah
 8 their – ^*questions* in the ^*book* are *like* –
 9 >they're ^*all* – ^know-ledge ^*ques-tions*<
 10 they're just
 11 Kendra: um hum
 12 Kari: and *they* have *really* nothing to *do* with the
 13 *importance* of hhh ((laughs)) the hh *sto-ry*
 14 (0.4) I mean *it's* >kinda ^*like*< (0.4)
 15 ^*didcha* ^*under^stand* what you ^*re-ad*, but it
 16 *really* was-n't – any^thing more *in depth* than
 17 that – so (0.2) I *don't* use ^*em* (0.8) an
 18 then; (0.7) *this* is just *another* – from the
 19 ^*fi-nal* ques-tion – *like* – to *pre-dict* –
 20 *where* we're going w- ^with the ^*story*^ (2.4)
 21 Kendra: ^*dis-courage*^ment to ^*en-courage*^ment –

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- 22 interes^ting
- 23 (1.9)
- 24 Kari: u:m (2.2) and ^I don't think I'm gonna to
- 25 do a fish-bowl - ei-ther (0.8) they haven't
- 26 done a ^fish-bowl in this -class
- 27 and I th ink- (0.2) I'm tryin' to cover -
- 28 Kendra: um hum¹
- 29 Kari: a -lot of mate-rial - and I don't wanna to
- 30 in,troduce anything -new
- 31 Kendra: °(yes) °¹
- 32 Kari: so - >they ARE familiar with -it< (0.2) (the
- 33 inquiry) - sty:le (0.4) of discus-sion - so
- 34 Kendra: great=
- 35 Kari: =it's BEEN AWHILE: since we've done this
- 36 les-
- 37 Kendra: °(I noticed it)°
- 38 (0.8)
- 39 Kari: and so these are just some some uh ^these
- 40 are my ^brain-storm^ing
- 41 ques-tions that I've-
- 42 Kendra: sure¹ s ure¹
- 43 Kari: ^bey: WELCOME TO CLASS - ^BUDDY ((to student
- 44 entering)) (2.1) ((breathy, quiet laugh))

Post - conference

- 1 Kendra: I just took -down ^all kinds of ^stuff -here
- 2 ((excited voice)) (0.3) u:m
- 3 Kari: OK¹
- 4 Kendra: I first I -started doing a little break-down
- 5 of time - for -you.
- 6 Kari: °um ^hum°
- 7 Kendra: just to ^see - kind of -how it's -going -
- 8 this is-s h- ha you - got - right into
- 9 things - -very ^quick-ly
- 10 Kari: um hum
- 11 (3.4)
- 12 Kendra: then - when you got into your -dis^cussion
- 13 (0.5) I started -counting the - different -
- 14 stu-dents - >look at -this:< (1.0) five >ten
- 15 fifteen twenty< twenty five - twenty ^se-ven
- 16 - you called on - tw,enty s even (0.2)
- 17 Kari: >^good<¹
- 18 Kendra: different kids

- 19 Kari: just about - every^body
 20 Kendra: that's just ^about every^body >except for
 21 the -ones that wouldn't ave respon ded
 22 Kari: >great<^
 23 Kendra: anyway I mean< hh you took a ^little -
 24 stretch - break (0.8) um (0.4) HOW DIDCHU
 25 FEEL about the - discus-sion - ^af-ter - the
 26 (0.2) stretch ^break
 27 Kari: stretch ^break^
 28 (1.2)
 29 Kari: It's going down -bill - >I mean< - it was
 30 kinda - I think that's an a lo::ng time to
 31 dis-cuss
 32 Kendra: um h^um
 33 u,m hum um hum
 34 Kari: and I^ probably w^ould do that
 35 ^diffe-rent^ly (0.3) um (0.5) ^sometimes you
 36 can ha-v:e (2.4) a ^long discussion if kids
 37 are really into the sto-ry: (0.8) um:
 38 (1.3)
 39 Kendra: they did ^well - I -thou^ght
 40 Kari: the'y did O-K -
 41 but I think they were getting kinda restless
 42 >and I don't blame them< hhh ((laugh)) I
 43 mean I think - I just ex-pect that they're
 44 gonna get a little -rest^less and (0.4)
 45 u::m- I could've:: - maybe opted to have
 46 them: (0.5) talk about the second ^ques-tion
 47 - () more
 48 (1.2)
 49 Kendra: w^rite - individual an^swer s ^yeah?
 50 Kari: ^yeah^ (provide)^
 51 Kendra: or e^ven - I suggested maybe down -here this
 52 is jus - these are just - uh some -other
 53 ^WAY:S - if YO:U get up=
 54 Kari: =um hum
 55 Kendra: and change (0.2) you move around
 56 Kari: um ^hum
 57 Kendra: you- in^crease your voice: - volume a
 58 lit-tle - in-crease your pace >a little< -
 59 or slow it -down >when (you have)< just do -
 60 something a little diffe -rent
 61 Kari: (that's) different^
 62 oh that's a good ^idea
 63 Kendra: hh that gives them - ^ because they get

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- 64 into - this little bit of
- 65 lethar₁-gy you -know
- 66 Kari: the ^sa:me] -thi:ng:
- 67 Kendra: yeah¹ (0.4) and
- 68 >pretty< soo:n they'r - and they were doing
- 69 - s.o we-ll=
- 70 Kari: =>um ^hum<
- 71 Kendra: so: - sometimes if the tea-cher chan-ges -
- 72 it helps - them refocus -a -little -bit
- 73 (and)
- 74 Kari: ^yea¹b - that makes sen-se=
- 75 Kendra: =hh but- you ^were - >you know< they - ^did
- 76 - >finally< come -back=
- 77 Kari: =um]hum um]hum-
- 78 Kendra: mos't of them - to ¹ (0.2) being
- 79 (0.2) attentive to the discus-sion
- 80 Kari: um hum
- 81 Kendra: U:M - THIS IS -ONE - I wanted to ask you
- 82 a^bout (0.2) >this young man now< ((Kari
- 83 clears throat)) - y- you gave him a
- 84 warn-ing: (0.4) >you told him to move up
- 85 ^here:< -]>about
- 86 Kari: um hu¹m
- 87 Kendra: halfway through the discussion< =
- 88 Kari: =right=
- 90 Kendra: =>and he didn't -mo₁ve<
- 91 Kari: >I ¹ knew he -didn't<
- 92 (0.4) and I didn't (0.2) follow through on
- 93 -that
- 94 Kendra: >is that because you were real-ly invol-ved
- 95 with your discus-sio₁n and< - concentr a-ting
- 96 Kari: ye-ab >it was-< ¹
- 97 Kendra: on the ques₁tions?
- 98 Kari: r-ight¹ (0.3) and (0.6)
- 99 Kendra: ^u¹ hum°
- 100 Kari: uh -e stopped his (0.1) ^noise-ma-king.
- 101 (0.7) thought O^K well if you're gon^na- -
- 102 it's not bothering -me that's -fine.
- 103 Kendra: y- I -see >yeah< so you
- 104 jus₁t - let it -go - and::
- 105 Kari: >and when he's ta n ken a<
- 106 stan:ce -on (0.3) I'm not participa-ting um
- 107 you can't make -me. Um
- 108 Kendra: >um hum<
- 109 Kari: >you ^know?<

- 110 Kendra: >um hum<
 111 Kari: I'm tired of sending him to the of: fice.
 112 Kendra: (Ed thinks)=
 113 Kari: =So=
 114 Kendra: =I don't blame -y:ou
 115 Kari: >I'M NO'T WASTING ANYmore<
 116 -time on -it.
 117 Kendra: I -don't blame -you - {for - }
 118 Kari: so: - u:m (1.3)
 119 >SO - .THEN when he was making more -noise<
 120 then it was just -like (0.6) >take the
 121 ^thing a-way that -makes the -noise< go sit
 122 somewhere -else. hhh
 123 Kendra: um -hum >um ^hum<
 124 (1.2)
 125 Kari: so
 126 Kendra: -h there was ^one - -point I don't know you
 127 were- - you were bu-sy: - atten^ding to your
 128 stu^dents but I no-ticed - one - point ^he
 129 act^ually got - intere-sted in some-thing
 130 the kids were say-ing. (0.5)
 131 Kari: ^you're: kid-ding!
 132 Kendra: and stopped - for a minute (0.3) and made a
 133 comment - like (0.4) >well that makes
 134 sen-se<
 135 Kari: um hu:m
 136 Kendra: and I thought - gosh is this kid actually-
 137 but then that was it
 138 Kari: um h'um
 139 Kendra: hhh ((breathy laugh)) (that was it) lasted
 140 about five seconds and it was gone hhh
 141 ((laughing))
 142 Kari: all right - o:h -dear
 143 Kendra: and- y- look how ^long how ^long the discus-sion
 144 ^went- now this is -my: ^clock
 145 Kari: this is a lo:ng
 146 ti-m,e:
 147 Kendra: ^nine thir^ty no n- I me:an (0.2)
 148 they did ^well - clear up to: -
 149 Kari: yeah!
 150 Kendra: ten fif^teen
 151 Kari: -yeah
 152 Kendra: with only about - a minute (0.4)
 153 Kari: ^stretch=
 154 Kendra: =^here=

- 155 Kari: =uh huh=
 156 Kendra: =this is not – actually ^right you -were=
 157 Kari: =um hum=
 158 Kendra: =back into more things ^here
 159 Kari: um -hum
 160 Kendra: u:m (1.3) °I commented on: u:m (0.3) y-
 161 your – re^laxed -man^ner° (0.7) (ap)propriate
 162 rein^force-ment – you were giving (0.4)
 163 rea:lly appropriate reinforcement to -some
 164 >you were saying< that's interes-ting or I
 165 hadn't – thought about that before:
 166 Kari: °uh huh°
 167 Kendra: good idea:
 168 Kari: °uh hum:°=
 169 Kendra: =you were doing a lot of -that.=
 170 Kari: =I'm try- I 'as trying to ^follow -up on
 171 ^their
 172 Kendra: yes – yes-
 173 Kari: question
 174 Kendra: an- an- and you- – you always have really
 175 -good active ^lis-ten^ing skills, -Kari I
 176 mean it's – obvious that you're paying (0.3)
 177 very close -at^ten-tion – and when you got
 178 -dis^trac-ted – you said -so.
 179 Kari: um -hum
 180 Kendra: ((in raspy voice)) °you said – you know° –
 181 could you re^peat -THAT – because I was
 182 -dis^trac-ted ((laugh in voice)) by the
 183 noi^ses in the ^back ((laughs outright))
 184 Kari: ^some -times I didn't but – ^yeah
 185 Kendra: ^any^way (0.3) u:h – OVER^ALL DID IT -GO THE
 186 WAY YOU WANTED IT ^TO?
 187 Kari: ^YEAH – actual-ly it went pretty ^WELL (0.3)
 188 um: – I forgot to ^share the ^in-forma^tion
 189 about the number of (0.3) ^in-terrup^tions –
 190 and -con^tribu-tors.
 191 Kendra: -hh oh yeah – -right
 192 Kari: Which is:=
 193 Kendra: =ran outta -time for ^that y- y- you- c- are
 194 you gonna do that ^to-mor^row? or are you
 195 going to ski p ^it er-?
 196 Kari: yeah¹ um:: – I'm- I'll
 197 share that -in^forma-tion tomor-row.
 198 Kendra: °>um hum<°
 199 Kari: =^so: – we have- (0.4) -twenty ^six

- 200 -inter[^]rup-tions. That's some-thing to
 201 wo[^]rk o[^]n - [^]isn't [^]it (0.2) next -year[^]
 202 Kendra: uhum[^]
 203 Kendra: I shared with -Dun[^] can ((observer)) uh- I do
 204 -not - think those kids could've - ever had
 205 a dis[^]cus-sion [^]like -that - [^]six -months
 206 a-go. There's [^]no -way >they would've been
 207 able to attend - longer than about -three
 208 min[^]utes< at least -
 209 Kart: yeah[^]
 210 Kendra: not the kids that [^]I -saw - and these are
 211 the same -kids
 212 Kart: um[^] hum um hum
 213 Kendra: NO R - um: I DON'T THINK THAT Y[^]OUR (0.2)
 214 behavio[^]-ral expecta-tions (0.3) were
 215 near[^]ly as [^]con-sis[^]tent six months [^]a-go as
 216 they are -now
 217 Kart: yea[^]h (0.4) that's [^]true
 218 Kendra: >I mean you have not-< (0.3) >instead of< -
 219 relax[^]ing your [^]stan-dards at the [^]end -of
 220 the [^]year - you've [^]actual-ly in[^]creased
 221 -them, which I think is- is - admir-able.
 222 Kart: um hum
 223 Kendra: >It was like< just [^]be-cause there're only
 224 -eight [^]days of school -left
 225 Kart: -um [^]hum
 226 Kendra: I still expect you to lis[^]ten -an-
 227 Kart: oh [^]yeah[^] [^]oh
 228 [^]yeah WE'RE PUS[^]HING TH IS [^]STORY TO THE
 229 Kendra: attend[^]
 230 Kart: LA.S.T: [^]WE DNES:-DAY:
 231 Kendra: >YOU'RE GONNA GET< THIS WEDNESDAY?
 232 Kart: ((laughs))
 233 ((student in background: Oh -No))
 234 Kendra: anyways I [^]was- I [^]was - >.pleased< and
 235 -your - level of - [^]ques-tion[^]ing (0.4) was
 236 -ex[^]cel-lent - some- ther-'as: there 'as
 237 some -big [^]thing-kin' goin' on in
 238 [^]be-re -to [^]day
 239 Kart: um [^]um[^] um -hum - -oh - [^]yeah (0.6)
 240 and [^]I find -that if -I ask ques-tions that
 241 I'm - -cur[^]ious a-bout (0.8) [^]that's where
 242 we get the -best - dis[^]cus-sion - 'cause if
 243 [^]I'm -in[^]ter-es-ted - [^]some-body [^]else's -
 244 -pro[^]bably -had a - >[^]ques-tion about [^]it< -

- 245 -to₁o
 246 Kendra: um¹ ^hum um ^hum ^sure - ^g₁ood
 247 Kari: I d'on't
 248 -know- I ^think -the - text-book ques^tions
 249 are -just (0.6) -bo^gus hh
 250 ((la ughs))
 251 Kendra: >yeah<¹
 252 Kari: I'm SOR^RY but - they don't- - they don't
 253 ^reach - .my in^te-rest le^vel hh (0.4) so
 254 (1.1) >^yeah<
 255 Kendra: an- you're- tak- Duncan ^did-chu wan^na -
 256 ask Kari -any^thing? or °^who ^knows°
 257 Duncan: u:m - may-be at some ^o-ther- ^la-ter ()
 258 Kendra: >not nou< °OK°
 259 Kari: O^K (1.1) thanks for com^in'
 260 Duncan: thanks for in^itin' -me
 261
 262
 263

Doug and Vern: 10 May 1989

- 1 Vern: feel (0.2) about the various parts of the
 2 lesson - there like the first part - where
 3 you were doing: - what we call the modeling
 4 part essentially, you wer- you were doing
 5 the (()) in the modeling and
 6 Doug: um hum um hum¹
 7 Vern: that (0.3) where wh- where are some things,
 8 that you would like to make some changes?
 9 (2.2)
 10 Doug: Uh - for (0.5) most parts I felt that this-
 11 (0.6) they're (station) - because they've
 12 been there a mu- kept there for awhile
 13 an,d so and uh (1.3) ideally I shifted
 14 Vern: um h¹um
 15 Doug: (0.6) because we: - remember at that time we
 16 have more serious thing to do like uh (0.7)
 17 math and thin,g the re, so we go
 18 Vern: right¹
 19 Doug: from - that serious thing and go over here
 20 (0.5) it's kind of um (0.2) easier to: -
 21 manage because uh- because of that I have to
 22 stop several times - still (0.8) uh:: Bring

- 23 their attentions *-back* – so *that's* the *thing*
 24 that *I* would *like* to *ch-ange*.
 25 Vern: *yeab*, (0.2) *one a- one* of the *things* that –
 26 as *I watched* you
 27 Doug: *um hum*
 28 Vern: *uh::m, things* and *I* think we *practiced this*
 29 *one* because *one* ((chuckle in voice)) of the
 30 *things* *·hh* that *I* was *going* to *·h* *mention* –
 31 in *watching* that *was* – *wa:s* (0.6) *I: –*
 32 *might've* – *because* they *had been* on the
 33 *carpet before*=
 34 Doug: *=um hum=*
 35 Vern: *=uben ·hh I might've – felt a need* for
 36 *physical change*. *·h* and at – *THAT* point in
 37 *time* your *only* option for *physical change* –
 38 *would've* been to have *'em* – *re-* – *go back* to
 39 their *desks*, and *then* *·hh* have *'em* in their
 40 *individual* seats – *while-* – you gave
 41 *instructions*. *·hh I think* that *·h* >you know<
 42 it has *been* – *a* – *um:* (0.4) *pattern* for –
 43 *Lynne* of *course* and then for *you*=
 44 Doug: *=um hum=*
 45 Vern: *=to have have followed* in *·that* – *deve ^lop*
 46 *that*, that *normally* when you *wanna give* that
 47 *·h that* *um* (0.7) *whole* group type of of
 48 *early* part of a *lesson*=
 49 Doug: *=um:*
 50 Vern: where you're *doing* the *in put* as *y-y-*
 51 *they* call it on an *ITIP* |try *·h* *input*
 52 Doug: *um hum*¹
 53 Vern: modeling that you *gather them* around you, –
 54 you *cluster* *·h* part of *that* is their – their
 55 *si::ze* – you *-know* – the fact *that* they can
 56 *fit* and everything *else* *·hh* *but* – *remember*
 57 when we *were* visiting the *night* at Mount
 58 *Hood?*
 59 (0.6)
 60 Doug: *umm yeab*
 61 Vern: *uhm:*¹ *I didn't* get a *sense* he *ever*
 62 gathered *kids* on the *carpet*. – *It* looked
 63 like he *always* – *did* what *teachers* tend to
 64 do at the *higher ^grade* levels, – the *kids*
 65 stayed *pretty mu, ch* in th *eir desk* *·h* And
 66 Doug: *um hum*¹
 67 Vern: *stuff* – *um* – *I* think *that* – what *you:* –

- 68 could *do* is is work *out* – the *best* of *both*
69 worlds – that is=
70 Doug: um hum
71 Vern: *move* 'em *back* and *for-th* -h and *this*
72 would've *been* a *case* where *I* would've –
73 *probably* after *they're* on the *carpet* with
74 *Lynne* (0.3) *knowing* that it's a *change* in
75 their *routine* and *everything* *else*, *es-*
76 *establish* – the most (*settled*) – *pat*tern –
77 the most (*settled*) pattern is to
78 have 'em *seated*
79 Doug: um hum
80 Vern: *individually* at their own *desk* -h um (0.7)
81 you *don't* have that *immediacy*: (0.5) *But I*
82 *don't* think *anything* you were *doing* that
83 (0.2) their *eyes* are *better* than ^ *our* eyes –
84 normally around ((chuckle)) that *age*: -h And
85 so *I don't* think *there* was *any* – *reason* that
86 *they* had to be *clustered* around you (0.3)
87 for – for *that*. So *that* might have been
88 Doug: um
89 Vern: *something* that that *probably*: um *I* would've
90 *done* in that *situation*. -h *Because* – *during*
91 that part in *time*, there *were* that (0.8)
92 ()
93 Doug: >um hum¹ um hum< *yeah*
94 Vern: h *OR ANOTHER THING THAT YOU MIGHT HAVE*
95 *WANTED TO CONSIDER* – *ONCE A-GAIN*, (0.3) *I*
96 *DREW IT* – *HERE*. ((papers rustling)) *This* was
97 *ESSENTIALLY* – the *seating* pattern up *front* –
98 the *boys* were *all* in – a *row* in *front* of
99 *you*, – and the *girls* were *all* behind them.
100 (0.2) The *girls*: – on the *whole* – *there* was
101 – *once* >in a *while*< *there* was a *girl*
102 (in the re) but on *whole* it was the *boys*
103 Doug: um hum
104 Vern: you *spoke* to -h >*particularly*< you had *three*
105 *boys* *here*, – and *Tim* *right* *here* -h and then
106 *Zack* of *course* was *doing* his *normal* (0.2)
107 *ballet* routine *around* the *room*. u:M ((aside
108 to observer)) *Duncan*, for *your* benefit,
109 (0.4) *Zack* has some *very* (0.2) *special* –
110 *con-cerns* >in fact *I* don't know *what*
111 *they*< *finally* – *decided* – *he* *is*. – But at
112 the *beginning* of the *year*, *they* were

- 113 wondering if *be* might not be – *h be* (0.5)
 114 >I didn't know< if he could be this –
 115 borderline autistic, – *be* wanders in and
 116 out *h* >what they have found is that *be* has
 117 a genius (0.3) stat level. I mean
 118 take and do quad ratic er- – quations in
 119 Doug: o h really. I can-
 120 Vern: his ^head and- – and *be* was one of the final
 121 competitors in the spelling bee and things –
 122 things like that around here >I mean< *be's*
 123 just (0.3) bright is all. *h* But *be's* (0.5)
 124 dis^connected. – And he wanders – in and out
 125 of ^his – an- or ^Lynne's, anybody you watch
 126 him (come over he'll know) the group so *h*
 127 so Zack is a – SPECIAL case – as is um Eric
 128 – who – who is the kid – who >first came
 129 back and got a pencil< from ^me?=
 130 Doug: =Right.
 131 Vern: *h* and *be* – (barangued) at his desk. *h* well
 132 *be* has some >particularly< intres- i-
 133 issues in dealing w- doing destructive –
 134 things. And *be* ^lost the pen^cil I gave him
 135 he he he just (0.6) ^eats ^up materials –
 136 basically. *h* But ((cough)) there's some
 137 kids in there with very special ne-eds, and
 138 that's why I know their ^names ((chuckle))
 139 so well – because there are kids with that
 140 need.
 141 Doug: um hum
 142 Vern: *h* um – But – once ^again – if you were
 143 going to have them up there, you might've –
 144 >taken a more< proactive role in seating
 145 them. (0.8) I don't know if y- a boy ^girl
 146 boy ^girl pat^tern'll be better, or the
 147 ones who you know are going to interact
 148 ^here – *h* you do that. It's like a seating
 149 -chart=
 150 Doug: =um hum um hum yeah
 151 Vern: you kn'ow? A.V.D – u-m – u-m
 152 (1.0) I^: did it with ninth graders – so the
 153 likelihood that you'd have to do it with
 154 first graders – would be great
 155 Doug: um hum
 156 Vern: OK?
 157 Doug: yeah – that would be a good ^idea hhh

- 158 Vern: WHAT - WHATCHU NEE^:D is to .expand the
 159 repertoire - of skills - that you can ^use -
 160 to - ensure classroom management. And
 161 whatchu b ad going on: - up ^front - was
 162 Doug: um hum
 163 Vern: less than productive classroom management -
 164 because there were - a number of times -
 165 >you had to go< - Tim (0.8) >you know< -
 166 Zack: - um: m-m-m >you know< what^ever the
 167 names -were:: - or wha- whatever u- w-
 168 yo,u ha d to go a:n with
 169 Doug: um:
 170 Vern: that - a few times -h so that w- would be of
 171 something - you really need to focus on: h
 172 the second thing - that - I would mention
 173 here is is (3.0) ^and in an art lesson - I
 174 might add there- - there isn't - an easy way
 175 of doing this, -h - b.ut it's something for
 176 you to think about.° (0.8) U::M (2.3) THE
 177 OL:D >we've talked about this before< the
 178 ^ol:d (0.7) never give more than three
 179 directions to k- anybody at one time=
 180 Doug: =um hum=
 181 Vern: =have them do those three directions - and
 182 then mo:ve - to the next stage.
 183 Doug: um hum=
 184 Vern: =You^'ve had to - give a number of
 185 directions=
 186 Doug: =um hum
 187 Vern: on how to cut out a butterfly - and -
 188 whatchur dealing with are kids where - that
 189 - paper cut - is still a real (1.1)
 190 lear.^ning=
 191 Doug: =um hum=
 192 Vern: =skill =
 193 Doug: =um hum
 194 Vern: >I mean< so you'd have to talk to them
 195 about - making ^su:re thatchu - fold the
 196 paper and then you - cut (0.4) on the -
 197 line where it's folded, - not on the open
 198 ends, which fo- yo-u- - they were fairly
 199 successful - one kid >you know<
 200 before that - did say - bey look
 201 Doug: um hum hum
 202 Vern: at this ((claps)) you know that kind of

- 203 stuff. ·h um You *had to* – um: – talk
 204 about *how* to *poke* the *holes*, and *cut* those
 205 out, – um *right down to how* to (0.2) *neatly*
 206 *put* the glue *on* and everything else. ·h um-
 207 – You're *under severe* time constraints.
 208 (0.6) You as a- – you *wanted* the ditto- you
 209 *wanta* ((claps)) have it *done*, you *wanted*
 210 *them* to be *able* to go ((claps)) to *recess* –
 211 *all* in a *period* of about a *half* hour or so.
 212 ·h So *the* – *longer* you take ^time to (0.3)
 213 *give* – *two three* uh *directions*, – *have* 'em
 214 *do it* and then *stop* them *all* =
 215 Doug: =um hum=
 216 Vern: and- *do it next*- (0.3) the *next* two or *three*
 217 – *things* – *it* becomes a *problem*. – um This
 218 *maybe* could've been a *two day art* lesson.
 219 (0.7) The first -*day* at their *desks*, *they*
 220 cut the *butterfly* -out (0.4)
 221 the *bla ck* part out – and *they* get
 222 Doug: um hum¹
 223 Vern: *it* at their *desks*. you know. (0.2) And –
 224 *step by step*. The second *day*: (0.4) you put
 225 the – the *paper* -ou t, sort
 226 Doug: um hum¹
 227 Vern: of *thing*. OR IT COULD ALL HAVE BEEN DONE AT
 228 *once* – but in *two pieces*. (0.4) ^I'd k- ·h my
 229 *in-stinct* would *be* to *break* it in *two*
 230 *pieces*, ·hh and – >you know< (0.2) *it* was –
 231 *that* was *something* – I- – >one a the- *that*
 232 was *one* uh the *big changes*< I *made* as a
 233 *teacher* during my -*years*, and *part* of *it* was
 234 *through* – *through* – u::m – *instructional*
 235 *skills* training of the *things* I *had* ·h – was
 236 to (0.4) *do* things in smaller *pieces* with
 237 the *kids*.
 238 Doug: um
 239 Vern: And I *always* (0.6) *said* – I *always did* it- –
 240 -*for* – I *always joked* it *was* – for the *lo*-
 241 – uh – *worst* of *reasons*, *that* I'm *lazy* and I
 242 *didn't* like to *repeat* myself or *have to* –
 243 *have kids* – *do it over*. ·h And – so I found
 244 that if I gave *fewer* – *things* at a *time* –
 245 they *were* more *successful*. ·h Your *problem*
 246 is *though* is the *brighter* kid, *where* you can
 247 just *say* – *this* is the *butterfly*, – you do

- 248 *it and you could give 'em instructions in -*
 249 *two -seconds (0.2) and set them off and*
 250 *they would do it right. Those kids get a*
 251 *little (0.5) bored - >BUT ON THE OTHER HAND<*
 252 *IF YOU NOTICED, YOU HAD SOME KIDS FINISHED -*
 253 *BEFOREHAND - waiting to go to re[^]cess. (0.3)*
 254 *SO THEY STILL - HAD A WAIT Time - it was*
 255 *just that it was - all in a lump, - versus*
 256 *Doug: um hum¹*
 257 *Vern: - at the end of each - three steps that you*
 258 *would've do[^]ne. h You -know >a- I mean<*
 259 *those kids would've - cut ((claps hands))*
 260 *out - if you would've gone - >okay<, you're*
 261 *gonna fold the paper, (0.4) had 'em at the*
 262 *desks - giving instructions. h TODAY -*
 263 *we're gonna do - a butterfly, >the first*
 264 *thing we need to do< is fold paper*
 265 *Doug: um hum*
 266 *Vern: WATCH as I fold it (1.0) ((claps hands))*
 267 *(0.7) hand out paper to everybody. (1.0) um*
 268 *(0.6) Have the kids: - then - >hold it up*
 269 *^ again< - >once again - I folded my paper*
 270 *this ^way< (0.5) >everybody fold your paper*
 271 *- ((claps lightly)) (0.8) now push your*
 272 *paper a-side. (0.8) 'Cause you don't them*
 273 *holding on to it, - you want it*
 274 *aside:, and tha t's*
 275 *Doug: >um hum um hum<¹*
 276 *Vern: the only thing they need on their desks -*
 277 *except right then h NOW THE ^NEXT THING I*
 278 *WANTCHU TO -DO - IS WATCH ME: - BECAUSE >I'm*
 279 *going to take this< pat[^]tern and lay it on*
 280 *my paper, and I'm going to put it ^here.*
 281 *(0.5) °OK° h you might've had enough*
 282 *patterns - for every -kid. That takes more*
 283 *work But that way m- TH AT ALSO - THERE*
 284 *Doug: u m hum um hum¹*
 285 *Vern: was - some wait time - >going on there< h*
 286 *and- if ^you - if you sensed it to-day, as*
 287 *the kids were working, - as they were BACK*
 288 *at their seats and they were doing all of*
 289 *this, - u:m - u:m (1.5) THEY'RE MORE MOVING*
 290 *A^ROUND AND MORE NOISY AND WHAT^EVER, while*
 291 *they're waiting to get patterns. >The*
 292 *moment everybody had gotten their pattern<*

- 293 and had *drawn* - *then* - it got *real* -
 294 Doug: um
 295 Vern: ^quiet for *aubile* *while* they *were* doing
 296 it. >I mean< - *things* - sort of - got=
 297 Doug: =um hum
 298 Vern: THE OLD: (0.4) THE BUSIER KIDS ARE (0.4) the
 299 fewer *management* problems - *kicks* in *there* -
 300 >you know< so- *th*- *um*- if you can *HAVE* - if
 301 you *can*- *could* have enough *pat-terns*-. >you
 302 know<
 303 Doug: um hum
 304 Vern: do it *that* way. U:M Every *kid* has a
 305 *pat-tern*-. *now*:- *let's* (0.5) cut out the
 306 *butter-fly*-. You *know* - *and*- you *model* -it
 307 - then you *hand out* the *pattern*-. then you
 308 have them *all* do that *piece* >uh- *draw*< -
 309 excuse m e - >draw *it*< -h (0.6) Stop -
 310 Doug: u.m
 311 Vern: have *them* put *it* aside. Now I'm going to
 312 *show* you *how* to *cut*-. and you *cut* an- and
 313 you *talk* about *how* if you were doing *it* and
 314 the *modeling* is - I:: do *it* this *way* - *not*
 315 you do *it* that *way*. I:: do *it* this *way*. I -
 316 I h=
 317 Doug: =um hum=
 318 Vern: =because: they *might* do a *variation* on a
 319 *the-me*-. but you're *showing* them the *right*
 320 way. and *this* is the *way* I:: do *it*=
 321 Doug: =um h um
 322 Vern: *th* is is *what* I'm - *th*- *inking* as I'm
 323 doing -*it* - I'm *thinking* about *things* like
 324 *this*-. I'm *thinking* about *t*- *needing* to
 325 have a *straight line*-. (0.6) ^I'm -*thinking*
 326 about - *how*:- I cut *this* center *part* out-.
 327 *where* I start *here*-. and I'm *thinking* *that*
 328 it'd *probably* be *easiest* if I a - *sharp*
 329 *scis-sors*-. °one *kid* had *plastic* *scissors* and
 330 it *didn't*° -work -h I'm *thinking* about °>you
 331 know<° *these* sorts of *things* as
 332 I'm doing *this* -h YOU'RE - *MODELING*
 333 Doug: um hum
 334 Vern: WHATCHUR - *thinking* - *when* you're doing *that*
 335 with *them* -h AND- then - *THEY GET THAT PART*
 336 done. (0.6) -And - *then* the *next* *piece* is
 337 yur- your - *tissue* paper on the *back*-. or

- 338 Doug: um hum¹
- 339 Vern: your [^]holes -^owhere it (needs) to be
- 340 punched in first >I don't remember which way
- 341 you're going<^o -h and doing those sorts of
- 342 -things, -h IT'S A STEP BY STEP - THEY'RE AT
- 343 THEIR -DESK, BUT YOU'RE [^]DOING A COUPLE OF
- 344 things -there, - TODAY IT WAS AN ART
- 345 PROJECT, (0.4) but - if you- - LOOK WHAT I
- 346 HAVE JUST -DONE - we have had a LES[^]SON -
- 347 -in: - u:m - cut-ting: - we have had a
- 348 lesson in following inSTRUC[^]TIONS=
- 349 Doug: =um hu₁m
- 350 Vern: y¹ou know. -h You have a - number of
- 351 hidden things going on in that art lesson.
- 352 (0.3) I mean that's what [^]art is all [^]about
- 353 - it's where the kids get to take ALL of
- 354 this mas[^]sive STUFF an- -h your goal is just
- 355 to have it done - done -well - and all
- 356 cleaned [^]up (0.2) and you're teaching kids a
- 357 WHOLE lot of - basic classroom skills there,
- 358 of just -h a- little self management issues
- 359 going on there an- -h and using some of
- 360 Doug: um hum¹
- 361 Vern: the other s- other [^]other skills. >I mean<
- 362 for - a first grader how to use - a scissors
- 363 correctly - is - a skill they need to learn
- 364 Doug: ^oright^o
- 365 Vern: hopefully with a ninth grader it's [^]not.
- 366 Doug: right
- 367 Vern: With a ninth [^]grader it's - tryin- - to
- 368 convince them that they're not going to stab
- 369 their neigh[^]bor with it.
- 370 Doug: um hum=
- 371 Vern: =U:M >You know< it's a different (0.2) sort
- 372 of management issue there but there're still
- 373 management issues the moment you hand out
- 374 scissors - the moment you hand out paper
- 375 Doug: um
- 376 Vern: ^oand things^o (1.0) -h SO there're (1.7) there
- 377 are - >are some things there< -h NOW >ON THE
- 378 OTHER -HAND< (0.5) IF I WERE YOU - MY MIND
- 379 WOULD BE going (0.5) (oh) by the time
- 380 re[^]cess was over I had a (0.3) butterfly
- 381 from everybody and it looked pretty good,
- 382 [^]right? - I mean you did.

- 383 Doug: um hum
 384 Vern: I *think* >h-h- you know< (0.5) i-i-if we *just*
 385 take *it* from the *evaluative* end wh- what
 386 didchu *^want?* you wanted *butter-flies* that
 387 looked a *certain* – *like* a *butterfly*. -h
 388 *Thatchu* could *put ^up* for *par^ent* night and
 389 you wanted it *done* in a *quick* amount of
 390 *-time* – O^K?
 391 Doug: °yeah°
 392 Vern: DIDCHU HAVE THAT OCCUR? – yes you *-did*.
 393 (0.5) I mean=
 394 Doug: =um
 395 Vern: >You know< (1.3) you *said* from w-w- we
 396 *should* be *there* from >twelve-thirty to one-
 397 ^fifteen< at one-fifteen – I think *basically*
 398 we *walked* over ^here (0.4) so – *there*: you
 399 *met* your *objective*. (1.4) And – *there*
 400 *everything* was *fine* -h *but* – >you -know< –
 401 on the *other -hand*, – *were* there *ways* –
 402 *that* you could *deal* with *some* things *that*
 403 you *noticed*. You- >you know< you *were* –
 404 *aware* of *the* – the *fact* that *they'd* been in
 405 a *s-* – *down* on the *-floor* too long, you *were*
 406 *aware* that you *had* to say – *please don't* do
 407 *this* enough- -h >you know< *this* –
 408 *frequently*. ah:m: I *don't* know ^if you *were*
 409 *aware* of *that* part – *where* -h *where* *some*
 410 kids were *waiting* for *par-terns* *th^at* say
 411 Doug: >um hum<
 412 Vern: *were* more – *behaviorally* *disruptive* then
 413 on^ce *everybody* had – the – *cut* >and *they*
 414 got
 415 *quiet* – an- – foCUS (ED) – LIKE KIDS DO.
 416 Doug: u:m – right – right
 417 Vern: -h >and *stuff* like *that*< SO >you know< *what*
 418 I'm *suggest-ing*. *isn't* so much *that* – it'll
 419 *help* ^you (0.4) ^get the end *pro^duct* (0.5)
 420 *better*, *instead* -h it's: (1.4) *w:^ill* – mean
 421 – your *hair* won't – *turn* as- (0.2) *gr-ey* as
 422 *quickly* as ^my *hair* has
 423 *p,erbaps* – *that* type of *stuff* -h
 424 Doug: ((laughs)) h h h h
 425 Vern: *because* – you're more at – >you can be *more*<
 426 at *ease*: – °as you're going *through*: *this*
 427 >you can go<° -h you can be a- a little bit

- 428 *more* – *feel like* ^*Lynne* -does. °*You can go*
 429 *hh-oh* ((chortle in voice)) isn't that.° *I*
 430 *mean you have more time for the* – *the OH*
 431 *ISN'T THAT NICE KIND OF -STUFF* >instead of<
 432 – >sort of< (0.2) *running* – °*from place to*
 433 *place* and doing that ;*sorta thing*° *hh* and
 434 *Doug:* *um hum*¹
 435 *Vern:* so *THAT's* (0.6) >*you know where* you're gonna
 436 *go*< (0.4) >*one of the things* I just
 437 *mentioned to*< *Lynne:* – is to *WORK* with you –
 438 on *expanding* that *bag of refinement* and
 439 *organizational t-* (0.7) *tricks* – or
 440 *tech-niques*, -h *u-um* you *used to-day*, a
 441 *couple of -times*, *one of moving kids back*, to
 442 *the desk* -h *and* ((cough)) (0.6) *one thing*
 443 you did *well there:* – was – *was* ^*Tim*. *Tim*
 444 *didn't* wanna go *back* to his *desk* – And *you*
 445 *said it* – I- ((snaps fingers)) *he did* ^*it* –
 446 *you said it to him* t- – *once* >and *he didn't*
 447 *go back*, and I *thought* >is (Doug) going to
 448 ignore *this* you said it again – *he didn't*
 449 *go back* -h and (finally-) th- *you know* – *you*
 450 – *did it* again< and *you got Tim* to go *back*
 451 to his *DESK*. *THERE'S A KID WHO WAS BEING*
 452 *RESISTANT* but *you:* – *WERE PERSISTENT* –
 453 *OK?* -h *THAT WAS GOOD* – *you did* not *choose*
 454 to ig^nore -*that, because* – >*you know*<
 455 *sometimes* it's *easiest* to ignore *it* when
 456 they *don't* do it >*sometimes*
 457 *Doug:* *um hum*¹
 458 *Vern:* they *QUIT*< (0.5) *but* they don't- *in-* – >*ya-*
 459 *know*< th- *he might* have *quit* – *misbehaving*
 460 -h *but* *he do* esn't ignore
 461 *Doug:* *um hum*¹
 462 *Vern:* ^*it* -h *And* – *the moment* *he ignores* *one of a*
 463 *com^mand*, *when* you make a *com^mand* at *that* –
 464 *strength* and *that* commitment – -h *other kids*
 465 *are watching* (0.7)
 466 *Doug:* °*yeah*°
 467 *Vern:* If *TIM* doesn't have to do *it* in the long *run*
 468 then I won't have to do *it*, – so *you*
 469 *follow(ed)* through on *that*, -h *you gave Zack*
 470 the *choice* and the *second time around* you
 471 *remembered* (0.2) *that* – *Zack was screwin'*
 472 -around – *he needed* to go *back* to his ^*desk*

- 473 and you had *him* go back to his ^desk h
 474 ERIC: (0.2) chose to stay at his -desk,
 475 (0.2) my instinct would be if E- - Eric
 476 chooses to stay at his desk and he's sitting
 477 in it, I would - never - °worry about that
 478 with Eric. - My instinct is - given the
 479 problems that kid has -
 480 Doug: u:m
 481 Vern: I prefer to have at his desk - than
 482 anywhere el se in
 483 Doug: um hum
 484 Vern: the room. I can watch him bet-ter - than
 485 when he's around other people. ° h SO ~ so -
 486 ^HE did -that >now Eric got a little< (0.5)
 487 TL-RED - er- - >sitting or whatever< and he
 488 started (1.2) doing his li ttle -
 489 Doug: hum
 490 Vern: la-y on the desk - routine, h u:m - and -
 491 and - of course - Zack - can't sit for more
 492 ^than - two seconds it seems like. >°You
 493 know°< so - there - there's an issue. >With
 494 Tim - he'll go back to his desk< so. h SO
 495 THOSE WERE GOOD - management -things, now
 496 whatchu wanna do is add some more to that -
 497 just sending kids back - to their ^desk -
 498 that's one step - h what are other steps
 499 you can ^take, - >°you know°<, or are there
 500 preventative things from the start.
 501 Doug: um hum
 502 Vern: Pre ventative things would've been maybe
 503 to have 'em sit - all at their -desks -
 504 because - of - they'd been on the floor too
 505 long ah-m Other things - if you would've
 506 had them (0.5) SITTING ^THERE - is - is -
 507 versus - u:m >y- you know< sending some back
 508 to their desks as you did. - Another option
 509 would be to move them within the group (0.2)
 510 too many boys together too many -girls, as
 511 I've mentioned. h u:m (1.0) ((coughs)) um
 512 (1.2) USING SOME MO-RE - ^POSITIVE ^NEGATIVE
 513 - types of - of re-ward point system, yeah
 514 like h OK you're being too noisy, (0.2)
 515 u:m everybody's going to stay in for recess
 516 time - except for first graders that's: -
 517 a few minutes away is even a long time away.

- 518 That *work* more *effectively* with ^older
 519 kids than it *does* with
 520 Doug: um hum -um hum¹
 521 Vern: younger kids. :h U::M - U:M - you - *might* -
 522 *have* - u::h - I- - I know *sometimes* and >I-
 523 I- I didn't *really* look *around* the room
 524 today;< *sometimes* you *have* the *thing* you -
 525 color -in, >you know< they *get* so many
 526 -points *over* the *period* 'a *month* and they
 527 get *that* >you know< :h B- TEACHERS USE ALL
 528 SORTS OF -THINGS. I *listened* to a *teacher*
 529 yesterday *talking* about a :h (particularly)
 530 he *chose* some uh *second* ^grade ^group an- -
 531 :h so *she* went on a ^pop^corn party on
 532 Friday routine you ^know; - I mean *she* -
 533 everybody has their: *tricks*, they're
 534 -called behavior *modifi*^cation ^tri cks -
 535 Doug: um hum um hum¹
 536 Vern: and Mister O'Riley's -not ^real ^big ^on
 537 ^them but - you know if if - *that's* ^what's
 538 gonna ^work - in *those* situations, *that* ^is
 539 - to *help* you *expand* that *bag* of *tricks*.
 540 Doug: um hum
 541 Vern: Lynne has a *very* small *bag* of *tricks* she
 542 uses 'cause *she* doesn't *need* to use ^many.
 543 :h *Newer* teachers - *have* to have a *bigger*
 544 *bag* of *tricks*, - and *unfortunately* they
 545 often don't *have* -it - and Lynne's the *one*
 546 that ^has -it but you *never* see -it.
 547 Doug: um hum ,um hum
 548 Vern: >because *she* doesn't *have* to *pull*
 549 it *out*< :h but the uh- >*newer* teachers *don't*
 550 have it but *they're* the *ones* who *need* it
 551 because y- you're *still*< (0.5) trying to
 552 (0.5) *play* around and *get* that right *match*.
 553 for -you,
 554 Doug: °um hum°=
 555 Vern: =with the - *kids* - so that it *mo*-res - as
 556 *smoothly* and as *quickly* as it *does*, - as it
 557 would when °you're a *seventh* or *tenth* year
 558 teacher°=
 559 Doug: =uh huh - yeah (1.2) °um°
 560 Vern: I was *out* on-n *one* of my *lecture*: - ty- s-s-
 561 *things*, (seems we) haven't *done* so much of a
 562 *discussion*. Di- I- - you- are there

- 563 anything?
 564 (1.7)
 565 Doug: uh I see *i t* as s-s- yeah, we've been using
 566 Vern: other-
 567 Doug: them (0.6) some kind of *a-* left it off
 568 right now but we've been using the *a-*
 569 beanstalk - about Jack and the *b_{ean}stalk*
 570 Vern: OH, OK I
 571 didn't - I didn't see that
 572 Doug: and *they* - are there
 573 for the (0.3) *behavior*.
 574 Vern: =uh huh
 575 Doug: And it's ^been - been - *working* (0.6) - *kind*
 576 of ^*well* - I think it's the *last* - *week* -
 577 some of them *had* - for *those who* - climb up
 578 the *air* on the *castle* - *they* ()
 579 Vern: OH - I DID - I did
 580 notice that last time I was *in*.
 581 Doug: =uh huh yeah so *they a-* *they* - *they* had
 582 *hunch* with *me*. Also so I - *they* have some -
 583 ^*cou-pons* - *trading* for - *thing* and for -
 584 good things an- h *and* they work *well*, but
 585 Vern: an-
 586 Doug: today I didn't use it much
 587 yeah right *not* a s *much* as I-
 588 Vern: hh yeah I ^see SO - THERE
 589 WAS ^A h THERE WAS A ^TRI CKT -you had in
 590 I thought
 591 Vern: your *-bag* - that you *didn't* pull out.
 592 Doug: uh huh
 593 Vern: Maybe you *could've* - at times
 594 Doug: uh huh
 595 Vern: You *did* towards the *en- d* - *once* - *quiet*
 596 them *-dow-n*, and *say*: - >you know< -
 597 something >you looked at the *clock*< you
 598 ^looked impatient, I mean you ^looked -
 599 frustrated, and then h >you know< you said
 600 - a- made some comment that we weren't -
 601 you weren't going to *mo-* ^go ^anyplace til
 602 they *had done*:e this, so- I don't know *how*
 603 you *put* it but h *but* >you know< and then
 604 that *quieted* 'em for a second h AND
 605 Doug: ^um hum^o
 606 Vern: YOU ALSO dismissed 'em *back-* - by ^*rous*
 607 again. (0.2) *to-day* - >you know< you w-were

- 608 *working on things* like m-m- smoother
 609 ^move-ment °from one place to another
 610 so; those were so me°
 611 Doug: um hum um hum¹
 612 (1.8)
 613 Doug: yeah – basically they – ^they ^do – tend to
 614 responds- uh – respond to me – more (0.9)
 615 °kind of uh – immediately an-°
 616 Vern: um hum
 617 Doug: more effectively than before – °because of
 618 uh they just before sometime just- – they
 619 just keep-° – kept talking an-
 620 Vern: yeah
 621 Doug: °while I was-° – h but now when they're
 622 asked for their attention (t- it the-) – um-
 623 most of them will give it right – just
 624 like that. (0.7) So I can see that – or I
 625 can prove that. I'm still working on it.
 626 hhh ((laughs)) You see it again. I don't
 627 know ^how -well – I try to see how well
 628 they can – bear me – back there (0.3) just
 629 because they- – they chose not to respond or
 630 because they didn't bear me – °very well –
 631 (most important to my-)°
 632 Vern: now you're talking about back
 633 where?
 634 Doug: I mean whenever I say (0.5) in their- – at
 635 their chair – at their seat or (0.8)
 636 Vern: h THEY COULD- ^THEY CAN HEAR -YOU¹
 637 Doug: on the (counter) °
 638 (0.5)
 639 Vern: °yeah° h I don't think – bearing's-
 640 Doug: yeah¹ like
 641 that hh – yeah
 642 Vern: an issue Unless there's- – would (it) be a
 643 lot of other -noise around°
 644 Doug: °um hum
 645 Vern: um: (1.1) >you know< so – so; – having
 646 them ^at their desks – when you give
 647 instructions, I do n't think bearing
 648 Doug: um hum¹
 649 Vern: °would be difficult°
 650 Doug: YEAH I SAW THE POINT THAT YOU – UH GAVE
 651 EARLIER AB- ABOUT BREAKING – THEM DOWN BY
 652 SMALL STEPS?

- 653 Vern: um hum
 654 Doug: AND WHAT I DID WITH A (0.8) WINDSOCK - I
 655 think that one we did (it) in three days.
 656 Vern: yeah=
 657 Doug: =They did - good jobs of just - the first
 658 day - they just (colored) that.
 659 Vern: >um hum< =
 660 Doug: =second day they put together and then put
 661 the tails ^on. (1.4) And the last day they
 662 put the: - the strings on.
 663 Vern: yeah
 664 Doug: Yeah YEAH I TRIED THAT AND IT'S - WORKS
 665 AND Uh (1.2) I also tried to give out -
 666 some kind of (0.3) di^rection that- at their
 667 seat. (0.6) h u:h but right now its- - at
 668 their- - this stage if I do it - there it's
 669 gon- take
 670 (0.5)
 671 Vern: much LONGER yeah hhh YEAH IT
 672 DOES: - it doe,s
 673 Doug: yeah y'eah
 674 Vern: I I'm aware of that
 675 Doug: um hum
 676 Vern: u:m (0.2) But >you know< it's the old idea
 677 of active participa-tion, - ^where you can
 678 have the kids in-volved=
 679 Doug: =um hum=
 680 Vern: =,obviously h and so: - when you have a:
 681 Doug: that's true¹
 682 Vern: series of ^instruc-tions, if you - >break it
 683 in pieces< then you have active
 684 participation in between those pieces, -
 685 there's two ^ways of getting kids actively
 686 inVOLVED >one 's to< h be - fore
 687 Doug: uh huh¹
 688 Vern: ((sound of paper rustling)) all discussion,
 689 turn to your neigh-bor share with your
 690 neigh-bor, - say it in unison. h >that type
 691 of thing< The other is that -
 692 manipula-tive part °so°
 693 Doug: uh huh g'ood uh huh
 694 (2.7)
 695 Doug: ^O-K - is there anyth ing? (0.9)
 696 Vern: °OK?°¹ I ^don't
 697 think -SO. I- I h I know that - um - ^E

- 698 just *having* a: - little bit of a *discussion*
 699 the other *-day*: - *with He-len*: - and *Lyn-ne*:
 700 - *an::d* - *-Molly* - *an:d* ^*KEN* - *all met*
 701 (0.3) and I *think* what *they* - *talked* about
 702 and *arranged* was *fer*: - between *now* and the
 703 - *end* o' the ^*year*: - and - *I* - *think* - that
 704 >*Lynne* probably< *shared* with *you* (0.2) *what*-
 705 - *they're* going to *do* is - >*she's* coming in
 706 *NOW*< to teach the *LOGO* part,
 707 Doug: uh huh
 708 Vern: *then* >for the remainder of the *year*< -
 709 >*she'll be*< - *arou:nd* - *more* ^*than*- - >*I*
 710 mean< the *firs*- - those ^*three* *-weeks*, we
 711 *told* her >*not even* to walk in the *room*
 712 because we *wanted* to make *sure* that< the
 713 *kids* weren't *turning* to *-her*,
 714 Doug: uh huh
 715 Vern: *now* I think s- (they) - w-s- - >*IF SHE'S* in
 716 the *room*< they're *always* going to *turn* to
 717 some- - *they* turned to ^*me* today. When
 718 there's another *adult* >in the *room*< -h you
 719 know th- the ^*kids*:
 720 Doug: um hum¹
 721 (0.4)
 722 Vern: *ALL OF 'EM* want *attention* - so they'll *turn*
 723 to the *clo:sest* *adu lt* f¹or the *atten tion* -h
 724 Doug: uh huh¹ uh huh¹
 725 Vern: but the *goal* is *fer*: - *her* to just - *be* -
 726 *more* °an *assistant* for you *most* of the *time*,
 727 and for ^*you* - to: - then - *do* - the *primary*
 728 instruction. >*I* think you had the *discussion*
 729 - probably - with *her* on *-tha t?* er-°=
 730 Doug: =yeah (she's *sure*)
 731 Vern: OK¹
 732 Doug: °OK yeah°
 733 Vern: °so: - *that'll* keep you *busy* being
 734 o:ut of° *trouble*
 735 Doug: OK¹
 736 Vern: be:tween *now* and the *end* of the *-year*.
 737 Doug: hh ((laughs))¹ OK.
 738 (1.0)
 739 Vern: -h One of the *th ings*: - *that we*- - you and
 740 Doug: ()¹
 741 Vern: I need to *arrange* a *time* to *do*, -h ^*probably*
 742 after *-school*, when we could maybe *meet* for

- 743 *coffee or something, th is a (1.4) period*
 744 *of ti: me - uh - for us to d- - just discuss*
 745 *you know - where to go and what's next -*
 746 *You know after this - year - u:m - and*
 747 *uh - 'course you have an interview in a*
 748 *little while for pa- PRACTICE*
 749 Doug: *yeah yeah*¹
 750 Vern: *in that area - ^right?*
 751 Doug: *uh huh*¹ *yes::*
 752 Vern: *and so (1.2) (you're gonna) it's -*
 753 *PARTIALLY pointing you in those directions°*
 754 Doug: OK
 755 Vern: OK?
 756 Doug: *and so just let me know - whenever you -*
 757 *have time and then I'll see - if we could*
 758 *(fix)=*
 759 Vern: *=BRINGING THAT ^UP - did you, when you were*
 760 *at the ((university name)) an- - and you*
 761 *registered for classes this term, did you*
 762 *register for an additional two credits of*
 763 *some sort?*
 764 Doug: *(yeah)*
 765 Vern: *that's gonna putchu be^hind in credits then*
 766 Doug: *no - but I talked to u:h=*
 767 Vern: *=Quincy?*
 768 Doug: *yeah >bu- bu- bu-< because I have a: six -*
 769 *credits to: trans-fer*
 770 Vern: °um 'K°
 771 Doug: unless I¹ get OK for those
 772 *three - those*
 773 Vern: NO (W) I'M NOT¹
 774 Doug: TWO ARE: (0.8) uh:=
 775 Vern: =no I- (huh)
 776 Doug: pass/no-¹ pass=
 777 Vern: =OH and- they're pass/no-pass any way, OK
 778 Doug: sure¹
 779 Vern: *so it all comes out in the wash then*
 780 Doug: it's - for sure¹
 781 Vern: *good - ^good because we did the other ones*
 782 *graded=*
 783 Doug: =uh huh - yeah yeah
 784 Vern: (uh:)¹ th at's¹ °all right°
 785 Doug: *I checked with them and I jus- (0.9) I: just*
 786 *take regular - load hhh ((laughs)) again.*
 787 *(1.1) °So I don't have very - cheery term*

- 788 this
789 (2.4)
790 Vern: O^K
791 Doug: *because* I *took* – *six* here from um – RSU
792 (1.0) °so I have *enough* to *trans.fer* it's
793 *jus:t-°* (0.7) *up* to *fifteen* -right but I
794 have *six* and *jus-* you know ((laughs)) AND A-
795 (1.6) this aside hhh (some way I get-) I
796 have *bumped* into ^*Ernie* ^*Quinn* – I heard
797 from *Ed*: ((another teacher intern)) and u:h
798 – *Laura* ((another intern)) about the –
799 *registration* – *pre* – *registration* -there
800 Vern: *oh* forget abo_{ut} it
801 Doug: *it's* ¹ not *allowed* for –
802 *res,ident*
803 Vern: I would¹ – *forget* about *it* (0.6) I'd
804 (talk to) *Quincy*: Don't *worry* about *it*.
805 Doug: but *do* we have *to*: uh *preregister*?
806 (1.3)
807 Vern: *I* don't *know* – *you-* – *we* – on *Satur-day*: –
808 you could ask *Quincy* what – >*needs* to go on
809 for *summer* registration< I *don't* know *that*.
810 Doug: uh huh
811 ((background noise of children passing in
812 the hall))
813 Vern: *I- I WOULD IMAGINE* – *TH* – you know if
814 there're *CLASSES* you're *taking* outside the
815 *basic* – *required* ones
816 Doug: um hum=
817 Vern: =you know – if you *can* preregister for
818 -*classes*, *it's* sorta *nice* because it *ensures*
819 you a *position*.
820 Doug: um hum=
821 Vern: =Some *class^ses* – it *depends* whatchu wanta
822 -*take* >you know< -h *some* classes get *real*
823 competitive *others* -don't for (0.2) *slots* –
824 in the *summer-time*, – *any* university.
825 Doug: °umkay° (0.7) so *hopefully* we *can* uh – we'll
826 be able to *find* out *this* Saturday:
827 Vern: °yeah°
828 Doug: or *just* have to send *it* -there, if they
829 *don't* let *it* – *they* just *reject* it hh
830 ((chuckle))
831 Vern: °yeah°
832 Doug: *we* just have to *take* care of *later* ()

- 833 (1.0) *yeab* because *I* want to (*pay* just late)
 834 for that (one so) – *because* it's *different*.
 835 (0.9) °*because* it's°
 836 Vern: °OK°
 837 Doug: *other* than *that* – that's *all*: *are* we going
 838 uh – to meet *with* you at *all* – *this* evening?
 839 Vern: *This* evening? OH – I WILL BE – *there*. Come
 840 to *the* – >I forgot to tell people *-that* <
 841 (0.2) if you *see* ^*peo-ple* (0.2) n- n- c- –
 842 *be* THERE by around *four* ^*thirty* >is *that*
 843 what *Helen* told ^*you*?<
 844 Doug: °no I didn't hear *anything* from°=
 845 Vern: =So you *didn't* hear *anything* from-?
 846 Doug: ()
 847 Vern: OK !=
 848 Doug: =I'm *scheduled* for *four*: – *fifteen* to *four*
 849 *forty five* but ()
 850 Vern: *yes*! we can *meet* every –
 851 *body* – between *four thirty* and *four* ^*fifteen*
 852 – in the LO: ^BBY – of the *personnel* office.
 853 Doug: um hum
 854 (0.5)
 855 Vern: OK?
 856 Doug: >yeah OK<
 857 Vern: -h I have been SO: – *be-bind* lately *that* I'm
 858 *muddled* over when I'm (*correcting*) ((sound
 859 of paper rustling)) I – *keep forgetting* to –
 860 send out () efficient *mem*₁os and *tear*
 861 Doug: (sure:)¹
 862 Vern: those *things*
 863 Doug: so: are ^*you* ((to observer)) – want to: uh
 864 *talk* with *me* ah?
 865 Duncan: *um* – *maybe* today *wouldn't* be a *good* time. I
 866 was *thinking* if we come on *Fri-day*, or – *we*
 867 can have some *time* on *Friday* or *Saturday* to
 868 talk.
 869 Doug: OK. So: it's *up* to *you* I'll *be* –
 870 >what it *is* *you* want
 871 Vern: ()¹
 872 Doug: *say*< OK I'll *jus*: – uh *if* I have *any* I'll
 873 *jus*- uh- (know 'bout) *you* hhh ((laugh in
 874 voice)) OK?
 875 Duncan: Or *maybe* *what* *you* *could* do *also* is: – *you*
 876 *could* – um – if *y:ou* – *feel* like *it* (0.3)
 877 *jot down* some *re*^*actions* to: – the

- 878 conference.
 879 Doug: um hum=
 880 Duncan: =And then you could – give that to me or
 881 bring that and use that to re^fresh yourself
 882 when we – we talk=
 883 Doug: =OK=
 884 Duncan: =on Friday or Saturday (()¹ particularly
 885 Doug: (()¹ particularly
 886 or:=
 887 Duncan: =yeah
 888 Doug: OK
 889 Vern: may you u- probably also – in general about
 890 the -year:=
 891 Duncan: uh huh=
 892 Vern: =too=
 893 Duncan: =that too. u:m – If you can separate those
 894 two, that might not be able to be separated
 895 Doug: hh ((chuckle))
 896 Vern: w- we PROBABLY are going to come in on –
 897 Fri-day and do this again: um – Duncan's
 898 going to be here – so: – if you >you'll be<
 899 – primarily instructing on Fri-day ^too like
 900 we've been (doing)
 901 Doug: Fri^day – uh¹ morning or – afternoon?
 902 Vern: WE:LL – >I'm not certain what time Duncan
 903 plans to get here I- I-< I need to start
 904 with the other students at eight thirty so
 905 I'll be dropping the students who're
 906 visiting here off around – ^nine -thirty -h
 907 and so – you know, I don't know but – I know
 908 – If we don't get here – prior to ele^ven –
 909 then it's after -noon – because you've got
 910 lunch pretty much from eleven to what –
 911 ^twelve?
 912 Doug: uh huh yes
 913 Vern: yeah
 914 Doug: to: – -h eleven thirty. And then we'll have
 915 – just kind of uh – sharing and – more story
 916 and tic-toe
 917 Vern: OK
 918 Doug: and from there we'll have
 919 Vern: and I'm – assuming is: – she: doing Logo
 920 about the same time she did ^it:=
 921 Doug: =um- hum um hum
 922 Vern: now¹ from¹ twelve: – to about (0.2)

- 13 a um: (0.6) a *study* of *^su-per^vi-sion*.
- 14 Ed: O-K:
- 15 Duncan: so I'm *^look-ing^more* -at - how (0.2) Vern
- 16 inter-acts with -you in the *^role* of a
- 17 *^su-per^vi-sor* than >I'm not I- I wou- sh-
- 18 probably should *explain* that *be^fore*< so
- 19 that I *didn't* make you *^nerv-o* us
- 20 Ed: *^oh* -no¹
- 21 Duncan: |hh I'm not *uriting* stuff -*do un* on -your:
- 22 Ed: it *didn't even* (occur to) *me*¹
- 23 Duncan: *^in-struc^tion* as *much* as I -*am* on -may^be
- 24 what Vern's *^attempting* to - so I'm-^o
- 25 >you're *not*< the *^fo-cus*
- 26 Ed: *be's* |the *^fo: ^cus*:
- 27 Duncan: you're just *kind*¹ of a - -*foil* or a
- 28 *^ve-hi^cle* >for *me*< to *^try* to -*get* - an
- 29 *^i-dea* *what* it is s- that he's *do-in'*
- 30 Ed: um
- 31 Duncan: um and *^all* -this a- con^*sent* -*form* is
- 32 *^say-ing* *that* *basical^ly* (0.3) you -con^*sent*
- 33 to *be* *^in-volved* *^in-* in- in *that* *role*
- 34 (0.4) *^in* the stu-*dy*, um but- that - if *^I*
- 35 -*need* to *^men-tion* *^you* at *all* or *things*
- 36 that *^you* -*say*, I'll *protect* your *anonym-ity*
- 37 - and *^con-fiden^tia|l-ity*^p
- 38 Ed: >OK<¹
- 39 |I *trust* - -*you*
- 40 Vern: un^less you make¹ *mo-ney* off of -*it* - and
- 41 then -*be'll*=
- 42 Ed: =then hhh ((laughs)) *then* we *^get* to -*be*=
- 43 Vern: =there's *not* a lot of *mon-ey* to split *^it*=
- 44 Ed: YES:
- 45 Vern: yes
- 46 Ed: I *trust* -you ((sound of pen on paper)) there
- 47 you -go
- 48 Vern: thank you - does *that* go to you *^then*?
- 49 Duncan: yeah
- 50 (2.3) ((sound of paper rustling))
- 51 Vern: let me um:
- 52 Ed: >COME -ON *^DAN-NY* *^FO-CUS* YOUR *ATTEN-TION*< -
- 53 -PLEASE ((to student)) *FO-CUS* YOUR
- 54 -AT^*TEN-TION* ON *SCI-ENCE*
- 55 Vern: *^how's* - she do^ing?^o
- 56 (0.6)
- 57 Ed: *^you* know *^Dede* -*Smith*?^o

- 58 Vern: (that gonna end-?) (0.7) ^spring-time
 59 Ed: a₁nd ^ (con-do)
 60 Vern: uh¹ ((laughs))
 61 Ed: and Dave Lendle
 62 Vern: ((laughs)) u:m (0.7) cou:ld – could be that
 63 -be's – getting rea^dy to lea-ve – ^too
 64 (0.6) >^that's (where) the -peo^ple< –
 65 -distance ^them-selves -h and what they -do
 66 in their distan^cing pro-cess when they've
 67 been clo^se to ^some-one
 68 Ed: ^is to de-ta¹ch: =
 69 Vern: = -h ^is to de-tach and go ^back – ^re vert
 70 to – what they we-re: (1.0) -be^fore – >they
 71 uorked with that ^per-son<
 72 Ed: °^um -hum°
 73 Vern: an:d -uh: =
 74 Ed: = ^sur-vi^val too -eh?
 75 Vern: °yeah – yeah° >and< – >you know< some of
 76 your -con^ver-sa^tions with -him – might –
 77 -fo^cus a-bou:t uh- >around< some of tho^se
 78 -^is-sues about – -h ^a-bout ^that – or -you:
 79 >you -know< -re^in-force ^the -group, all of
 80 -us ^here and these are things I know you
 81 can do on your -own without ^ba-ving ^mis-ter
 82 Thomas ^al-ways ^there –
 83 to -h >^da-da ^da-da ^dada ^dada
 84 Ed: ^uh¹ -huh
 85 Vern: ^da-o:< and ^see if – -be – >you know<
 86 -may^be: – >you can -start< – mov-ing into
 87 ^that -phase so be – can de-tach with
 88 ^growth – ^ver-sus – I mean – u:bat we ^see
 89 -are ^a -lot ^of -kids who ^it's be-cause
 90 it's ^per-son^nel you're -in -h they they -h
 91 (the adults) ^are -here – >they-shoot ^up
 92 with the< ^tea-cher >and then the moment
 93 the< ^tea-cher leaves -em then they'll
 94 ^shoot -down to the () – -drop
 95 ^back -down and then g- back ^up –
 96 ^hope-ful^ly they always -end ^up a little
 97 ^bi,gb-er
 98 Ed: >right<¹ and the ^go:al -is to make sure
 99 they putz
 100 Vern: um |hum
 101 Ed: the ¹ -goal – ^i-deal is for
 102 to -them to stay ¹ ^up:

- 103 Vern: yeah^l yea^h >th[^]ough< -though like
 104 with it's mo-re like they're going -uh=
 105 Ed: =°OK°=
 106 Vern: =-down -here then - then
 107 ^u_p th ere (0.5) °things like
 108 Ed: OK^l
 109 Vern: -that ()° - :hh U:M (0.4) you're going
 110 to -Bon[^]ne-ville on Tues[^]day?
 111 Ed: >-yeah you wanna ^come?<
 112 Vern: -h unfortunately it's -our - Ore-gon ca-reer
 113 fair -day ((student interrupts with
 114 request))
 115 Ed: YES MA[^]AM:
 116 Vern: um: it's our or- >last< - re-cruiting ^fair
 117 but it's here in Rock-land so I don't have
 118 to tra-vel ,ex cept to the Holiday
 119 Ed: u m:^l
 120 Vern: -I_{nn}
 121 Ed: we're go-ing to Trojan Nu[^]clear on June
 122 -ninth - Fri[^]day - if you wanna
 123 co_{me} with us -that day
 124 Vern: ^ooo- - -glow day -^l ^huh? we're gonna
 125 go -ou_t-
 126 Ed: co_{me} on ((laughter in voice)) s:top
 127 -it ^that's what the -kids say
 128 ^too: ((both laugh)) but
 129 Vern: c_ho-
 130 Ed: ty^l-ing in all of th-ese - ^field trips
 131 (1.1) -with this - -h and ^that's -one good
 132 thing about ^it being here in the ^Rock-land
 133 area - having ,all of ^these ^re-sources.
 134 Vern: uhum^l
 135 (1.1)
 136 Vern: y- you're going to ^Tro-jan that ^da:y?
 137 Ed: >yup< shoul_d co-me:
 138 Vern: I'm just^l gonna n- put a -
 139 ques-tion mark - I've ^al-ways wanted to go
 140 on a >field trip< to >^see what's-< -
 141 obvious-ly I'm - empty -then but - -h °it
 142 would- -de[^]pends -what comes ^up°
 143 Ed: ^this -one is the field ^trip -I'm plan[^]ning
 144 to ^Bon-ne[^]ville -dam - °so°
 145 Vern: -hh right -now >what I have on my -desk< is a
 146 ^stack of -un[^]returned -phone calls and
 147 >^little th-ings< - ^like -that s:o ((Ed

- 148 chuckles)) so as -you ^guys get
 149 ^bys-te^ri-cal about your - ^pa-per and
 150 ^stu_{ff} you know
 151 Ed: .oh - I got¹ta - do -mine |I'm wri -ting
 152 Vern: and- be¹
 153 be appreci-a-tive ^of -that -hh u:m (1.3)
 154 >obviously a little -late< here >so we
 155 didn't get in< to the - >beginning of the<
 156 ^les-son: an: - I came -in ^and star-ted -
 157 ^just a-bout e-leven, taking some ^notes
 158 -here °on° - ^re-gards - u:m -h - to -that. -
 159 u:m You're >talk-ing< and you're- - were -
 160 a-bou:t um: >the ^first thing< I had -down
 161 from -you is how do -tur^bines - ^run: when
 162 the water's ^still. You had them ^think
 163 about -it.
 164 Ed: um -hum
 165 Vern: -hh You - one thing you did -there that-
 166 was- r- good ^wait -ti-me - ^think about -it
 167 and you wait-ed (0.7) -h and then O-k
 168 ^share -it with ^neigh-bors - an- an- - then
 169 you asked for - for - one's child Brent -
 170 to: g_o on -h °one thing
 171 Ed: um hum¹
 172 Vern: you might've - wanted to uh- be do^ing
 173 -there° - is Brent did ^not give -you the
 174 cor^rect -re-spons-e - if you ^re-call - be
 175 - -h was c- he gave a con:-fuse_d resp ond
 176 Ed: different¹
 177 respon_se
 178 Vern: an-¹ an- and- - ^it took more prob-ing
 179 -h u:m (1.2) >and you -said - uh- ^some-thing
 180 to the ^ef-fect - like -O^K< how does a
 181 -still - ap^pear-ing wa-ter - -turn - >^you
 182 -know< the -turbines you -had to ^re-phrase
 183 -that |hh and -then - you as k ^Ber-nice
 184 Ed: ^re-phrase the ques-tion¹
 185 Vern: ^some-thing an- you- it ^looks - -still but
 186 - >you know< y- (0.4) but- it's: -s_{ill}: -h
 187 you -know and- and- and ^what's the -word
 188 and ^then -they came up with the w-word
 189 ^cur-rents:
 190 Ed: um |K
 191 Vern: or¹ s- ^they came up with the -word and
 192 >look at these ^cur-rents and< -hh and you

- 193 said *oh* .good >their .vo^cabulary .word
 194 there's ^*cur.rents*< *then* you went .on and- -
 195 - you - you .got ^*throu.gh* .that ^*part* - h
 196 ^one of the .*things* you ^*might* wanna've
 197 *done*° - >*when* you were do-ing .*that* ^*ac.tive*
 198 *par^ticipa.tion piece*< was to have h -
 199 *mo.ved arou.nd* - and ^*lis.tened to* - .*what*
 200 they .were *talk^ing* a-bout h 'cause you
 201 ^*would've* .heard it .*ra.nge* >every-thing<
 202 from *these* .two - >°over here< who *didn't*
 203 .know so *they* .were - >^they were< -
 204 >*polite*< but *they* were *sl.lent* -
 205 ^*lis.ten^ing to*° ^*these* .two over .*here* - he
 206 *po-* he .*pro^bab.ly* .knew
 207 Ed: uh huh=
 208 Vern: = >is ^*his* name .Ed?<
 209 Ed: ^Ed.win
 210 Vern: >^*Ed.win* Ed.win< h °ok° (1.1) be-cause -
 211 um - ^he .*seems to* .be ^*pret.ty* ^*tuned .into*
 212 *some of that st* ((cough)) to
 213 Ed: um!
 214 Vern: the .*range* of ^*o.ther* - .re^*spon.ses* which
 215 *va^ried* >and *that* .way< h you .could -
 216 °per-haps - *call on*° - >so^me .body
 217 (according to the method)< °who'd ^*an.swer*
 218 more .like you *wan.ted*°
 219 Ed: ^O.K:₁
 220 Vern: .y₁ou .were: - ^*risk .tak^ing* .*there*
 221 and the .*risk* didn't turn .out
 222 h ini tial.ly .hh ^and - ^things
 223 Ed: >OK<₁
 224 Vern: h ^*and* what .chu wanna *be* - very °^*care.ful*
 225 about of cour^se *is* - h *is* as you *u:ll*
 226 .know: - the *mo.ment* - the .*incor^rect*
 227 .an^*swer is* - .*first bea.nd* h *it* .might -
 228 *car.ry* - *throu.gh* - >^*some* .kids might< *pick*
 229 *that* ^up°=
 230 Ed: =pick *that* - u:p=
 231 Vern: =and they're ^*ad.ded* - there's .con^*fu.sion* -
 232 'cause *be* ^*ga.ve this* .re^*spon.se* - >but
 233 there're< .re^*spon.ses* over .*here* - ^so .now
 234 h >^ra-ther than just< *hav.ing* - .one
 235 ^cor.rect *re^spon.se* - they ha^ve .to sort
 236 .out the ^*incor.rect* - °from the
 237 *cor.rec₁t*°

- 238 Ed: >t^he cor·rect< ·hh >and in< st·ill:
 239 ^mak·ing sure that the ^lear·ner – ^feels
 240 that they've >·con^tribu·ted<
 241 and not
 242 Vern: (>you accept¹ him<) °yeah° it's·hh
 243 Ed: >so¹
 244 ^ma·king those ·tw₁o< °considera₁·tion°
 245 Vern: an·¹ an· but in¹
 246 – but ·when he ^did do ·that you ·did not say
 247 oh ·no nona· >you ·know< ·hh you you (0.3)
 248 you ·did move – grace·ful·ly to lo· – bu·
 249 ·you ·re^phrased the ques·tion >ra·ther than
 250 ^say·ing no< ·h but bo·w ·does the st^ill
 251 appear·ing wa·ter – °turn the ·tur^bine you°
 252 said ^you're talk·ing about some·thing a
 253 lit^tle diffe·rent so you· ·h you did ·that
 254 part – ·though ₁very
 255 Ed: °OK°¹
 256 Vern: ^well with ^him – so that ^wa· ·hh >I
 257 ·think< ·h ONE OF THE ·THINGS that ^I'll just
 258 mention ^here – that's a cou^ple pla·ces ·h
 259 both with the ^cu·r·rents ((sound of paper
 260 rustling)) and then: ^la·ter ·on: ((more
 261 paper sounds)) ·I know ^I have ·it (1.9) ·you
 262 ^used – uh· ^la·ter on you· use· the word
 263 simpli^fi·ed and ^then – you ·used
 264 ^com·plex >an· in each< case you ·h you – uh
 265 >·made sure they ·un^der·stood the ·word< and
 266 ^you – >pointed ·out< that was good use of
 267 vo·cabu·lary words, so you were ^bring·ing ·in
 268 another – ^a·rea – from your lan·guage ^arts
 269 a·rea is·
 270 Ed: ^O·K¹
 271 Vern: of your vocab·ula·ry and >then the lesson ·h<
 272 Ed: is ·that ^O·K to ·do – 's
 273 what I was gonna to ^ask ₁·you
 274 Vern: that's·
 275 ·ex^ce·llent – to ·do – ^be:·>·cause< ·hh those
 276 words as· as – as (2.0) ^I think I've ·told
 277 you this ·story be·fore but as as our >·dear
 278 old< friend Madeline Hun·ter always ·said ·hh
 279 ^says a·bout this stuff – ·she uses the
 280 sto^ry °about the ·kid – in um: – w· th· the
 281 ^tea·cher's teaching ·them° (0.7) want^ing
 282 ·them to: – >have< – vocab^ula·ry in their

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- 283 daily *-life* – *because* it's always *-taught* –
 284 ^*iso-lated*=
 285 Ed: =um hum=
 286 Vern: =(and >more or less some) *-kids* couldn't
 287 *-un^der-stand -it<* so the ^*tea-cher* hh has
 288 *-kids* come ^*in* and >put ^up< – *u^hat* they
 289 wanted to – *-tell* – >*u^hat* a word *-is<*
 290 *they've learn-ed* and a *-kid* ^hears his
 291 *parents* ^*fight-ing* and they're – using the
 292 *-u^ord* hh – the – >*fa-ther's* (yelling at) the
 293 *mo-ther<* that she's nev- – ^*fru^gal* e-nough –
 294 and so – the *-kid* picks up (hears) this
 295 *-u^ord* he *doesn't -know* hh what *does* it
 296 *-mea-n* (0.3) u:m to *-dad* – and *dad* just goes
 297 – it *means* – to *-save-* so the *-kid* comes *-in*
 298 and *-be* – >they're *supposed* to draw a
 299 ^*pic-ture<* °you *-know°* of a vo-cabu^lary-
 300 w- wi th *pic^tures?*
 301 Ed: um hum!
 302 Vern: hhh so *u^hat* ^he has *-drawn* is a *pic-ture* of
 303 a ^*per-son* – *u^ho* has *fal-len off* of a –
 304 *-boa-t* (0.6) and *he* is ^*scream-ing* – to the
 305 *peo-ple* on the *-deck* – *fru-gal -me* – *fru-gal*
 306 *-me*,
 307 Ed: ((lau_{ghs}))
 308 Vern: and (1.1)¹ the *pro-blem* is is we –
 309 *oft-en -teach* vo-cabu^lary in *isola-tion* and
 310 *we* don't *use* the – *-con-text*=
 311 Ed: =um *-K₁* – °I see°
 312 Vern: >so *-u^hat* ^*chur* *do-ing* ^is< u/sing *-it*
 313 in *-co:ntext* hh to your *sub-ject* mat^ter –
 314 you're ^*inter-grating* – *cur^ricu-lum*=
 315 Ed: =OK
 316 Vern: >*u^bi^ch* is of *-course<* what we hh *scream*
 317 a-bout but we *ne-ver*: – we- wo- we won- we
 318 wan- pay ^*lipser-vice* ((sounds of paper
 319 rustling)) to *-it* than
 320 actual-ly *doing -it*.=
 321 Ed: OK
 322 =>because ^see ^I *do that* all the *time* – I
 323 *keep* wonder-ing if I'm add-ing< – *-move* –
 324 *harm* than – *-good* – to – *u^hat* I'm *do-ing* g
 325 Vern: no¹ no
 326 I *think* (1.4) hh I *sup^pose* if a ^*co:m-plec-*
 327 uh co- (0.5) >^*con-cept* you're *dealing*

- 328 *with*< is - *high*^ly com:plex - in *h* >you're
 329 *tryin'* to *break* *it* into< *real small pie-c*
 330 an- on^ly *fo-cus* on *that* *h* to *sudden*^ly
 331 ^keep (0.2) *throw-ing* *in* >*a-lot* of
 332 vo-cabula-ry< *words* - *that* they're
 333 *unac*^customed *to* - *to* - *ex*^plain *it* *h* and
 334 *have* them >try to *remember* *those* on ^top of
 335 every-thing else could b_e *real*
 336 Ed: *then th*^at's not a
 337 *good strate-gy*=
 338 Vern: = >strate-gy.< *hh* I *don't* *think* - >you know
 339 *to-day*< *it* was somewhat *com*^plex: (0.2)
 340 *i-dea* for some of *these* *kids* but *h* I *don't*
 341 - *think* that *you* - *did* *it* - *enough* - that
 342 it ^owas:
 343 Ed: *was* - *ob*^tru-sive to *their* *lea rn-ing*
 344 Vern: yes: - *yeah* ye^hah
 345 Ed: OK
 346 Vern: *yeah* - so *no* - *uh* ^NO *BIG* - *deal* with
 347 *that* >in *fact* I *think* *it* was a< *good* *thing*
 348 to ^ohave *done* rather *than*^ *h* to *not* ((sound
 349 of paper rustling)) ^*have* *done* *it*. UM:
 350 (1.6) *h* *THERE WERE* a *COU*^PLE *TIMES* *HERE*
 351 AS YOU WERE *TALK-ing* about ^*ques-tions* an-
 352 >an- *this* is ^*one* of those< *situation-al*
 353 (0.4) *things* where *h* you *can't* (0.3) ^ouh-
 354 *like* in *this* *first* *case* I- *uh*- >*we* *talked*
 355 *about*< where you *had* to *ad*^just your
 356 *ques-tions*, u:m *h* u:m (0.5) *for* the *kids* to
 357 try to get just *that* - *right way* >outta
 358 them.< *h* I *don't know* if - if - *hav-ing*
 359 *may-be* ((sound of electric pencil
 360 sharpener)) (1.3) >^*writ-ten*< - *were* they
 361 *from* the *b*^oo.k? - Or were ^*they* - *things*
 362 you'd were *just* *do-ing* as you were
 363 *talk-ing*? Or
 364 Ed: *no* we've *ta-ken* *notes* - *from* them
 365 *be-fo re*. *h* >So *it's* *more* or *less*< (0.2) ^oI
 366 Vern: O^K^h
 367 Ed: *wanted* *them* to get *familiar* with the
 368 *mate-rial* - *being* *that* I *know* *sci-ence* is
 369 one of ^*hard a-reas*. *h* I'm *having* *them* >go
 370 *throug*h< *do* ^*all* the *vocabu-lary*^ - >in
 371 *fact*< they're ^*prepar-ing* - *for* my *next*
 372 *lec-ture* is what -

- 373 Vern: >um hum<¹
374 Ed: -that's all a-bout. S,º
375 Vern: O¹K
376 Ed: ^it- - be-comes more tangi-ble and
377 manage-able - to -them^m
378 Vern: =º>K<º -h so w- w--what you were bat,ing
379 -here - more. >rather than< - actual^ly -
380 >all the ^ques-tion/^an-swer< is a dia-logue.
381 Ed: y::es:
382 Vern: I mean - you were try-ing to -h to ^point
383 some things -out >by asking some ques-tions
384 - getting -kids to -talk about them< - in -
385 a ^dia-logue ki,nda -thing >OK<
386 Ed: YES::
387 Vern: ((sound of paper rustling)) BE - -CAUSE
388 SOME^TIMES there was some - question-in-g:
389 - a^da-p-ting >going on -there,< ubich -
390 was >-good on your ^part< that you kept
391 adapt-ing >the question - when they didn't
392 get -the< (0.2) -h -right ^re-sponse -
393 initial-ly -h but ^I didn't -know: if ^may-be
394 you needed -to (0.2) have - writ-ten
395 ques-tions -out in a more - -fo^cused man-ner
396 - initial^ly - because there was -some - -un
397 clari-ty
398 Ed: >OK< I guess it's to clari-fy ^any
399 questions they may have - once -they've
400 (0.2) >interacted with the material on their
401 -own,<
402 Vern: OK hh 'UM
403 Ed: -yeah - that's my purpose:
404 Vern: >A ^REAL INTEREST-ING< - -THING HAP^PENED
405 (0.4) A -BOUT - eleven oh -six:
406 Ed: ((whispers))ºEdwin over hereº
407 Vern: º(is he gonna talk) - because he ^bears -usº
408 -hh be h- you said do you have a ^ques-tion
409 ^Ed-win. An- he said - no - I - think I got
410 -it - and he explain-ed=
411 Ed: =º(thank you)º
412 Vern: the ^thing to -you -hh and -then sud^den-ly
413 (0.9) u::m >oh you -said< see how things
414 -work you know they're -for- - they're
415 -forcing in an opposite -way, -h and ^then
416 you ^had an^other -ques-tion, an- then -h um
417 about the a- p- photo in -there >ºit was

- 418 something about< – France°
 419 Jan- then- – then you said
 420 Ed: OK
 421 Vern: Dan^ny h um your ^mom went there – could
 422 ^you check that out for ^us? h and then
 423 Ken-dra started talking about Board-man
 424 ((sound of paper rustling)) and – you bad
 425 – a number of – other kids >who suddenly
 426 started< – asking ques-tions or talk-ing
 427 about things h or whatever, h and
 428 ^sudden-ly it went from be-ing – the
 429 tea-cher – being the one – >having to
 430 ^ask< the ^ques-tions – >and bringing
 431 it a-long< to ^KIDS (0.3) h getting the da-
 432 – going for the dialo-gue=
 433 Ed: =°um hum:°=
 434 Vern: =And – that's one of those those those –
 435 sb: ^ifts – that you – you >abmp< I mean
 436 ((sound of paper)) >I don't know ^why – I
 437 suddenly no-ted that- ^I guess I was just
 438 not-ing time (and had to i t) a-bout what
 439 Ed: um hum¹
 440 Vern: he did that- I guess I had time to do
 441 it, and if – (even) write ^his ques-tion
 442 down. ((paper rustling)) h And that –
 443 suddenly it took ^off – and that's sort of
 444 what you wanna have a les-son sudden-ly
 445 (^do >remember
 446 Ed: um hum¹
 447 Vern: with ^kids< – they're asking
 448 ques,tions hh
 449 Ed: doing things
 450 and they're inter-ested and they're going
 451 al- – long in- in=
 452 =their ownership – in the les-son=
 453 Vern: =yeah=
 454 Ed: =too=
 455 Vern: =y-eah an- h so – that was real-ly good –
 456 there hh the ^one thing >I would point out
 457 about that< – though – that I found that
 458 was >°really° interest-ing< – >and I did^n't<
 459 (0.2) start the count – right a^way – >I
 460 didn't think about it until I got<
 461 somewhere down in here >so I °can't< give
 462 you – a° – count=

- 463 Ed: =°um -K:°
 464 Vern: ·hh as the -discus[^]sion went °a -long - ·h -
 465 during the discussion -time - there were
 466 on-ly (1.3) there was - one girl - more
 467 involv-ed (0.2) than any others - and then
 468 there was a secondary -one.° The -one who was
 469 ^involv-ed was the girl from Board-man.
 470 >Ken[^]dra?<
 471 Ed: uh huh
 472 Vern: ·h °And then Ber-nice° - finally gave - a
 473 co-mment, but when she ^gave the co-mment,
 474 she tied Kendra to ^it. -She and Kendra -had
 475 to go to the beach. ·hh=
 476 Ed: =um -hum:
 477 Vern: The REST - of the ques-tions - and -
 478 co-mments during that -time - all came from
 479 -boys.
 480 Ed: uh huh
 481 Vern: °Not¹ one - -girl - said a -word - except
 482 for those two during that period of -time°
 483 ·hh when - you then - went an- I - so I had
 484 writ- th- >written this -thing< girls
 485 Kendra only girl who volun-teers,
 486 Be- nice: >you know<
 487 Ed: OK¹
 488 Vern: just a: - ^ques-tion how 'bout >you know<
 489 we- other -ways that - we can strategize to
 490 get the -girls ((sound of paper rustling))
 491 to do more ^talk-ing because - ·h >whatchur
 492 see-ing is not - >you< - you're seeing a
 493 re-ry tradition-al (quorum) going -on -
 494 -that - hap[^]pens - >natural-ly< ·hh
 495 Ed: u h huh¹
 496 Vern: ((sound of paper)) yet
 497 - then - yet - when you'd
 498 Ed: (°that's when you get-°)¹
 499 Vern: -got - to asking ^ques-tions
 500 Ed: uh huh
 501 Vern: >you know< the work-sheets - listen - >to
 502 this< In-grid - Carl - Ken-dra - Steve -
 503 McKen-zie - °is that a girl (who's name-)?°
 504 Ed: um hum: - little -girl
 505 Vern: -Lynn Kendra - Edwin - Vic was a -girl=
 506 Ed: =um h₁um:
 507 Vern: a b'oy - then Ken then Ber-nice - boy -

- 508 girl >I didn't get some of these -names< I
 509 (jus t
 510 Ed: O K¹
 511 Vern: put b or -g- hh U:M - there you -bad -
 512 ac^tual-ly - >a pre^ponder-ance< of your
 513 ques-tions - go-ing -h (0.3) uh- just a-bout
 514 six-ty for-ty I'd (caught) if I did
 515 thi,s rough ly - split
 516 Ed: um hum¹
 517 Vern: -h >going towards the girls< °so you did not
 518 - ignore the -girls - -th,ere
 519 Ed: OK¹
 520 Vern: -h >when it was< - what I'm say-ing is -
 521 >when it was a< na-tural-ly - generat-ed -
 522 discus-sion wer-° (0.5) -h where - h (0.5)
 523 which ^is whatchu -u:nt (0.3) th- this is
 524 u:here you're in a -real Catch -2^2:
 525 (0.2) -h is there a -u:ay: you can non-
 526 obtrusive^ly >without tak-ing< control
 527 a-gain (0.3) >°you know of a-°< a natural
 528 discus,sion >a way< -h get - that - group
 529 Ed: uh huh¹
 530 Vern: (0.2) in this case: >it happened to be
 531 -girls< =
 532 Ed: = >um hum< =
 533 Vern: =somebow invol-ved=
 534 Ed: =um:
 535 Vern: -h YOU -were- a- eh- you ^did -it (0.5) as
 536 it- >-when you -u:ere directed as tea^cher,<
 537 when it's ques-tion an-suer you did
 538 a very ^fine job of -it.
 539 Ed: see - I >noticed< that -I notic,ed
 540 Vern: 'yeah
 541 Ed: that too >you know its- it was-s in the
 542 ^back of my -mind but I didn't - -h pick it
 543 ^up but I no-ticed< (0.2) °for some ^rea-son
 544 the° flags went ^up and said - -call -girls -
 545 pre -dominate₁-ly du r^ing
 546 Vern: ((cough))¹ ye ah¹
 547 Ed: >thi,s ti me< to balance
 548 Vern: yeah¹
 549 Ed: o,n my cl ass participa-tion
 550 Vern: -hhhh -h >and the thing
 551 ^a-bout ^it that's was interest^ing -is< -
 552 is ex^cept °when one girl who didn't do the

- 553 -right (0.3) an:swers apparently over
 554 the re hh I think all of the girls
 555 Ed: um hum¹
 556 Vern: did respond appropriately to your ques-tions
 557 >as did< most of the boys - too. h That -
 558 it doesn't mean that - they - don't - know
 559 .it° (0.5) but they ^se::em to: - know .it -
 560 on - what I would call hh ((h)) the
 561 academic or book -le^vel. ^They are not
 562 showing their °natural curiosi-ty - um - at
 563 this ^point - except for Ken-dra >an-
 564 Bernice.< hh have both- p- are Kendra and
 565 Ber^nice being re-booked by Carl Egar²°
 566 Ed: oh yeah=
 567 Vern: =good students?=
 568 Ed: = >yeah< - h and Kendra's -dad came in
 569 yester-day - who's - an energy engineer
 570 >wh₁o ^work ed at
 571 Vern: uh huh¹
 572 Ed: .Bon^ne-ville - who ^worked at Board-man
 573 who ^worked at Tro-jan.< h
 574 s o she - has a - °active rested
 575 Vern: s o¹
 576 Ed: involveme₁nt in this as we ll°
 577 Vern: yeah yeah °yeah°¹ and - then - do
 578 she and- Kendr- uh: >Bernice< must be
 579 friends: - of some sort °too°
 580 Ed: °um° not anymore h₁hh ((chuckles))
 581 Vern: no - but they were at
 582 Ed: ((continues chuckle))
 583 Vern: one ti^me, so there was a- it's kinda -¹
 584 it is - spring ti-me
 585 and they're in fifth -grade and this'll-
 586 Ed: yes:
 587 Vern: (0.2) between -now and (0.5) >the time
 588 they graduate
 589 from high ^school 'll be< thou sands of
 590 Ed: they're in ruins:
 591 Vern: fri-ends
 592 Ed: yes:
 593 Vern: °OK° (0.3) so - um (1.0) but - ((clears
 594 throat)) >you know< (0.5) that that that was
 595 the- the one thing that - I think we've
 596 talked a little bit before about that - this
 597 -year - about - are there hh those things

- 598 an- ·hh and I *think* I've- >a couple times<
 599 quoted um Carol Gilligan the woman from
 600 Harvard, ^{who} -
 601 Ed: I don't *think*¹ I've heard of -
 602 her=
 603 Vern: =er- uh- well *she* - *she* has done a lot of
 604 research -on (0.2) girls - and uh w- e- and
 605 - um partic- more ^teen-age -girls ·hh and
 606 it's >particularly in the areas< of *math* and
 607 *science* and *why* - they *fall* - *be-bind*:
 608 (0.2) in *math* and *science* ·hh and what uh-
 609 two >two reasons< - *one* - *math* and- *science*
 610 are generally -done in what you might call
 611 for (0.6) >quick summary purpose< - *linear*
 612 way[s
 613 Ed: >linear *modalitie*_s<
 614 Vern: *modal*¹*i-ties* and *boy:s*
 615 - tend to *learn*: -*that* - *way* - *better* by the
 616 time *they* - you know - *they* always *claim*
 617 that ·h that boys're right *brained* - to - to
 618 *left* brain. They're *right* brain when they're
 619 *supposed* to be learning *reading* and- that's
 620 why *they* *fall be-bind*, because it's a *left*
 621 brain *activity* the *ba sic learning* process
 622 Ed: u h huh¹
 623 Vern: in - ((papers rustling)) in *girls* is *fine*.
 624 *Girls* then *shift*- and are *left*- (0.3) the
 625 *opposite* - *left* brain *right* brain, ·hh so by
 626 the *time* we start teaching *what* - *some* would
 627 call the *left* - *brain* - subject *matters* of
 628 of ^*science* and ^*math*, *girls* are moving
 629 toward ·hh a more *right* (0.2) *brain*:n (0.5)
 630 u:m (1.4) *mode* o:f *lear-* - *pu-*
 631 Ed: *mode* of *think*¹*ing*
 632 Vern: *thinking* of ^*lear-ning*. ·hh um: uh She's
 633 taken *that* I *think* in - a *deeper -vein* and
 634 *what* she's looked at - are - the *issues* of
 635 the -*way* ·hh *women*: - are - b- still brought
 636 ^*up* in our - *cul-ture*. And the *way* women
 637 are *still* brought up in our *cul-ture* - is is
 638 a very *sexist way*: ·hh They - *help* -
 639 *m_{om}*
 640 Ed: just a¹ *second* - *SAM* - *BRENT*
 641 (4.1)
 642 Vern: they *help m_{om}* (0.2) they - °they° - they

- 643 make *sure* (0.3) *dad-dy's* taken care of and
 644 their *brother's* taken care of and they're
 645 °*taking care of*. ·h So what *happens* is – ·h
 646 is *math* and *science* are taught in a *linear*
 647 *fashion* (0.3) ·h u:m you *get* into a
 648 *discussion* like *this*°. ·h and the *gir-ls* –
 649 pull ^*back*.
 650 (0.5)
 651 Vern: *Girls* a re *good* when *qui^et* and *po^lite*,
 652 Ed: (is it) ^
 653 Vern: ·h *yet they* – *academical-ly* – *these* are
 654 bright *kids* – that academically can do *it*
 655 ·hh the *boy:s* – are just *really* (into)
 656 *discussion*, – it's – *very traditional* and
 657 whatchur going to go *through* is the *worst*
 658 period of *time* from *fifth*: – to *ninth* –
 659 *grade* – ·h *where* that occurs. (0.4) You know
 660 I – >I *have* mentioned be-fore< the reason we
 661 don't have *tag programs* at the –
 662 *intermediate* schools but have en^*riched*
 663 *programs* is because *girls* refuse to go into
 664 *tag*. ·h because – *they felt* – that *they* –
 665 were *isolating* themselves from the *potential*
 666 o-of having – *boyfriends* – because they
 667 were *brighte|r* than the *b oys*
 668 Ed: °um – hum°¹
 669 Vern: and – *they* – you're *not* supposed to *do ^that*
 670 – *culturally*. ·h so >you had to go to< to
 671 en^*riched* classes which – *force* the *girls*
 672 into 'em – I mean *they didn't* have a *choice*
 673 – they were placed in *en-riched* English –
 674 they were *track:ed* – into their *tracking*
 675 ^*group*. ·h and *then* – they were tracked
 676 *there*. ·h °*well* – *that* – is – going to *begin*
 677 to hap,pen ·h I mean – for *these girls* to sit
 678 -here – ·h they are *potentially* (0.6) in
 679 the ^*mi:nds* of other ^*gir:ls* – *particular-ly*
 680 and in *some* of the *b^oys'* maybe become – ·h
 681 *those girls* who are – *egg head* (0.3) who
 682 (are all those) – you know – *intellec:tual*
 683 or whate|ver
 684 Ed: um h'um
 685 Vern: ·h in the *stereo^ty-ping* – by – *talking* too
 686 much about *science* or °*excelling* too much in
 687 *math*°. (0.4) ·h um *it has* changed

- 688 somewhat from *twenty years* a go
 689 Ed: °lis ten can you turn that ()°¹
 690 Vern: – that's –have *changed* – *somebat* but you're
 691 still seeing the *signs* of it. In a
 692 situation – like this –h and *that's*
 693 something to *think* about –h because *what she*
 694 *claims* in her book- >*her work*< – on *Harvard*
 695 –h is *that* – *girls* – *actually* – *do* – *learn*
 696 better because of their need to – make sure
 697 other people are feeling *comfortable* – other
 698 people are brought *a-long* – other people –
 699 are – *inclu-ded* – and *they* – *step back*=
 700 Ed: =um hum=
 701 Vern: =she argues *that what* – >you *really* need
 702 *then*< *is* to *cooperative* – *learn-ing* because
 703 *that* is the best *way* for *women* – to
 704 *learn*, –h=
 705 Ed: =um hum=
 706 Vern: =at *that* point in *time*, –h because
 707 it *a*°llows them *both* to – to – *listen* and to
 708 *partici-pate* – to make *sure* that *everybody*
 709 in a *group*< is- is feeling a *part* – of a
 710 *group* – –h to *take care* of their *needs* –
 711 but *also* for them to *then* be *part*, –
 712 >because *everybody* has a *responsibility*< to
 713 *that* group – *everybody* is – *requ-ired* to
 714 learn a *piece* – *everybody* is – *requ-ired* to
 715 speak.
 716 –hh *everybody* is *required* °to-°
 717 Ed: *what's her name?* – I can put *this*¹ in my
 718 *researcb* ((laughter in voice))
 719 Vern: *her name* i's >Carol Gilligan< I have a
 720 *book* –
 721 Ed: O'K¹
 722 Vern: at *home* – I'll rem- >I *haven't*
 723 Ed: can I *borrow* it?¹
 724 Vern: bothered to *read*, < I bought it *when* I was
 725 at *Harvard* er- a month *ago* an- I'll- >I'll
 726 *have to bring* it – to –you< –hh an- tj-
 727 *where* she *talks* about *these* very *issues*=
 728 Ed: =°um – I mean *cooperative learning* to *me*°
 729 and I'm doing it on the *math* –*test*=
 730 Vern: =yeah=
 731 Ed: =so I *need* –h (0.3) to *like* get o ver that
 732 Vern: you don't¹

- 733 sh- I don't think *she* - *she* is - I I - I
 734 *have* (0.2) *read* only uh-n *article* or *two* but
 735 I haven't *read* the book *yet* =
 736 Ed = >um hum<
 737 Vern: -h *an-* - *she* talked about *cooperative*
 738 *techniques* - I don't know - *how much* - *she* -
 739 herself! - *knows* and ^*uses* *cooperative*
 740 *learn*ing but *she* *talks* about ther- -
 741 more coop- - *co* *llegial*
 742 Ed *the nee:d*
 743 Vern: *cooperative* *techniques*
 744 Ed *the ne¹ed* to do that=
 745 Vern: =-h and for *science* and *math* teachers - to
 746 *foster that*, -h and *she* said the *danger's*
 747 gonna *be* is that (0.5) the people who will
 748 become *math* and *science* teachers in here
 749 are the *boys* (0.4) if they become *teachers*
 750 at all, - and the *girls* will *ten:d* to *still*
 751 become the *English* (0.2) *teachers* those who
 752 are currently- >'cause if you *look* at *how*
 753 language *arts* is done< (1.4) you know what
 754 goes on
 755 Ed °um hum°
 756 Vern: you know it's it's a (her-)
 757 Ed more holi'stic
 758 Vern: and it's *more* sensory *more* appealing. More-
 759 -h °like - you know- a (phenomena) - type of
 760 *thing*° -hh so it was - e- *this* panned out
 761 that way=
 762 Ed =um=
 763 Vern: =that *the* lesson - *did that* - an'
 764 it probably
 765 was good because of that uh issues
 766 Ed (it) was - *good that* you noticed *th¹at*
 767 ((paper rustling))
 768 Vern: ((slight cough)) °that came up°
 769 Ed: because *yesterday* when we had *Kendra's dad* -
 770 (n all) of my *boys* (0.2) I mean °(the
 771 quality) of the questions I was impressed
 772 with° it was just getting- hh they *impressed*
 773 me with their - uh - *statements* and-
 774 Vern: >I think< - >you know< - *that's* (0.4) where
 775 (0.3) you know *that's* where the *schools* uh
 776 da- - for a long time *failed* because *science*
 777 was hardly covered at *all*, -h=

- 778 Ed: =um hum=
 779 Vern: =and *that's* where *this* district had to *begin*
 780 to *force* to *te-* – *teachers* to *teach* science,
 781 we *finally* began to *mandate* that there're *x*
 782 – *units* -h that *had* to *happen*, and this was
 783 in the *seventies*=
 784 Ed: =^oum hum^o=
 785 Vern: =-h and *I* had a friend *who* – who *admitted*
 786 one of the reasons she's *transferred* to the
 787 – *junior* ^high so *she* could teach *English*.
 788 -h Was *Because* – *she* was teaching – >*fifth*
 789 and *sixth* graders, she was supposed to
 790 teach< *certain* science *units* – she *didn't* do
 791 it. -hh She would *rumple* up the *materials*,
 792 you know you *get* some of those *kits* you've
 793 now have *books* but in *those* days *they* had
 794 these *kits* -h and you're supposed to use
 795 *this stuff* so she'd *take* the *stuff* they're
 796 supposed to have *used* – *consume* and *throw* it
 797 in the *garbage* room >rumple *everything* else
 798 up< and *send* it *back* after *tu*₁o wee ks
 799 -hh
 800 Vern: -hh and said *yeab* *I* *did* the science *unit*.
 801 (1.1) *Because* that's *was* her comfort level
 802 ^with *science*^o (0.7) *instead* they did more
 803 *art* – and more *whatever*. (0.4) And *things*
 804 like that >well what happened was< *she* had
 805 *kids* who went – *science* illiterate into the
 806 *inter*^mediate schools (0.3) you know they
 807 were already *be-behind* (0.2) um: – uh
 808 *further* behind than their *colleagues* who at
 809 ^least – got the *little* science that was=
 810 Ed: =um hum=
 811 Vern: =-hh so *there's* been a big *fo-cus* in *this*
 812 district – *just* on *that* – *issue*, -h tryin'
 813 to make ^*tea-chers* feel more
 814 *com*₁fortable in *that* area so that *our* –
 815 Ed: um hum¹
 816 Vern: *kids* as they get ^in to the *intermediate*
 817 schools have -h – *some* science – *literacy*.
 818 (0.5) And uh (0.3) so – it – >you know< so –
 819 -h uh the important *is-sue* -h and you ^*see*
 820 how your *goals* lie ^up in that area.
 821 (0.6)
 822 Vern: And s o *that's* important for

- 823 Ed (yes:)¹
 824 Vern: *th_{em}* too you sh- they
 825 Ed (°and I go in°)¹
 826 Vern: shouldn't - *that* - *should* not be *stopped*
 827 Ed I kn_{ow} - I try - to *ben_d*
 828 Vern: The goal is to get the¹ *GIRLS* into
 829 that same kind of a-
 830 Ed IN THAT *PIC¹TURE* too and it's
 831 just (0.4) h_{ow} - >you know what I mean<
 832 it's just so *hard* - because
 833 (0.4)
 834 Vern: it's (hard on) a lot of
 835 *ki_{ds}* hhh ((laugh ter))
 836 Ed but it's like ¹ more or less - when I
 837 try to - ^*think* of *myself* or call *myself* as
 838 a *non-sexist* person you know hh *more* so
 839 that I *don't*
 840 (0.9)
 841 Vern: h hh you're fighting - *cultural* things -
 842 *certain* things that *you can't* even *begin* -
 843 to *deal* with, h um - or *don't* know *how* to
 844 *deal* with because *how* do you *reshape* that -
 845 *how* - do you get *girls* who by - *the fifth*
 846 *grade* are *already* taking care of their
 847 little *brothers* and little *sisters*, hh and
 848 have *mommy* sending 'em *in* to see if - *daddy*
 849 -you know da da da -da=
 850 Ed =um hu_m
 851 Vern: y'ou know (and) *this* or *that* hh *how* -
 852 do you - you overcome *that* type of *stuff* h
 853 to get them - *not* to - pull back. *How* do
 854 you *get* them *to* - h be - (feminine) or h- -
 855 by *just* lookin' at *colors* I was *about* to *say*
 856 - use that *terrible* (0.4) >that film title<
 857 *how* do you get them to *be* ((Ed sneezes))
 858 *pretty* - in - *pink* - and - *cute* - an- hh
 859 an- *appear* to be=
 860 Ed =°I don't know°=
 861 Vern: =*plus* so that *boys* - who are *beginning* to
 862 *lear_n* - you know that *girls* are supposed to
 863 *be* a *certain* way. *How* do you - you know -
 864 how do you *integrate* all that stuff -
 865 because what you're *fighting* is - is
 866 *centuries* of h of *acculturation* ((Ed
 867 sneezes)) in: - *trying*

- 868 t₁o get *them* to – *change* it
 869 *Ed* it *still* goes on in the *home* – too. And
 870 *still* making *sure* that we *va:lue* *what* goes
 871 on in the *home* and *supporting* them, ·h but
 872 yet (0.8) *shape the* – *this* to *me* is kind of
 873 *high* level *stuff* – that *I* think is gonna
 874 *happen* over *time*,
 875 you really need – to *think* about
 876 *Vern:* oh yeah – it can – take – forev¹er
 877 *Ed* to think ₁more – °about it°
 878 *Vern:* I mean – you¹- y-¹ *thirty* years
 879 into your *career* (0.5) h if you y- y- *you*
 880 *might* – you might *see* more changes than –
 881 *we've* seen largely because – there're more –
 882 *girls* whose – who – who come from the *single*
 883 parent *-fam[^]lies* – whose mothers are out
 884 *there* – ·hh in that – *dog* eat *dog* *world* as
 885 we like to *call* it and *that* kinda *stuff*.
 886 ·hh So you *might* just *naturally* see some
 887 *changes* ·h the *FAct* that you're *seeing* the
 888 *girls* respo:nd when they're – *asked* the
 889 questions °directly (when they're)° we're
 890 seeing them respo:nd ·h with an academic
 891 *kno:w[^]ledge* of the *subject* area. It's prob-
 892 ibly – be better – I've no *statistics* on
 893 *this*, than it would have been a *generation*
 894 ago then it would've been °oh I don't
 895 remember seeing this stuff° (0.4) (on input)
 896 – and – um (1.0) and – *so* – >you know< – an-
 897 I *interviewed* this *morning* a very *bright*
 898 *^wo-man* – who *wants* to be an intermediate
 899 *-school* – *^sci-ence tea-cher* – *for* – *that* –
 900 very *reason* – that she feels a *woman* needs
 901 to be a *role* model – ·h in that – *profession*
 902 where we are seeing more o f
 903 *Ed* °just a second°¹
 904 *Vern:* *that* occurring
 905 *Ed* CAN YOUR TEAM HELP YOU – NICOLE? (0.4) OK
 906 – *thank* you
 907 *Vern:* and- this- so – so – anyway it's just:
 908 (0.2) uh an *is-sue* ((Ed coughs)) that um –
 909 um is an *important* one an- -and- *I* think it
 910 (0.4) it was (0.2) you did – *r:ight* – by
 911 *adjusting* for it in *questio-nings* – >but
 912 it's just *interesting* to see it< (0.8)

Rethinking Instructional Supervision

- 913 >comes ^up< - all over the place
- 914 Ed go ahead - yeah I just notice I'm just - um
- 915 bum - bum I'm (into the fra) ((Vern coughs))
- 916 I don't know *what's* so except my *signals*
- 917 just said ((Vern sniffles)) - I'm off -
- 918 balance=
- 919 Vern =yeah=
- 920 Ed =you know it just - that - brings scales -
- 921 back into *tip* (1.6) >but other than *that*<
- 922 the *questioning* strategy- - am I mak- am -
- 923 my question to you then would be - am
- 924 I - *s till* - *dignifying* the learner, -
- 925 *that's* been one of my -
- 926 h *biggest* - thoughts
- 927 Vern yeah - no - I di'dn't (0.4) they're -
- 928 n- - no that wa- uh s- (0.2) I - did *not* -
- 929 have - *flags* - raised -there ((sound of
- 930 paper rustling)) um - and- the few *times* - I
- 931 don't *think* you *ever* - said uh *now* - h
- 932 there was *one* - *time* (0.8) h *sometimes* it's
- 933 the *little* stuff *that* - we don't even *think*
- 934 about h °*Eduin* responded to your *question*.
- 935 *He* did it *right*. h And you said h you said
- 936 - yes:° (0.8) *that* was- - um - *that* was *an*
- 937 (1.4) and you said *that* was - an *easy* one
- 938 >or you said *something* like *that*< hh you -
- 939 you meant to say - say: - you know *that*
- 940 was - a *good* answer: or it was an *easy* one
- 941 to come out with *or som e-*
- 942 Ed u h huh
- 943 Vern *thing* - like *that* h instead it might have
- 944 *sounded* to him like - *we'll* >OF COURSE YOU
- 945 SHOULD'VE GOTTEN IT *RIGHT*< - it was simple
- 946 |I me an< h *that* - *ther* - *that* it -
- 947 Ed .O ::H
- 948 Vern *the way* you said *it* - uh you meant it *one*
- 949 way - but it was *one* of *those* two *edged*=
- 950 Ed =could've been *taken*=
- 951 Vern =*taken* a different way. h um The *girl* who
- 952 - who - had her *things* lost, there was no
- 953 ((Ed coughs)) *easy* way to do *that* except to
- 954 *look* and you went - *buh?* (0.4) 'cause *she*
- 955 gave you such a - *weird* - an ^*swer*. =
- 956 Ed =hh=
- 957 Vern =that you knew it wasn't *com pletely*

- 958 (incongruent), you went along
 959 raised your
 960 Ed: h hh ((coughs))
 961 Vern: eyes – and you sort of went – °uh° – like
 962 that and – you know some of the other kids
 963 quickly responded and – hh all you could
 964 say is – go back and check it out, there
 965 was no way you could handle (0.7) that
 966 in any other way.
 967 Ed: °OK°
 968 Vern: () for the most part –
 969 Ed: °that they could understand°
 970 Vern: h um I think that – that – that was – °not°
 971 – >something that I saw as a concern here<
 972 (0.6) K=
 973 Ed: =huh
 974 Vern: OK?
 975 Ed: was it an OK ^les-son then?
 976 Vern: I thought it was a very – fine lesson. h um
 977 And – the only thing I think that you have
 978 to look at it as being a – that lesson that
 979 was – was – you were – h you were the (cold)
 980 person there trying to light ^the ^logs?
 981 Ed: uh huh
 982 Vern: and – if they don't light – and that's when
 983 ((laughter in voice)) you get concerned –
 984 but suddenly you had that disCUSSION
 985 suddenly go off on its own. h And it – it
 986 was – you know °some people call that the
 987 teachable moment° – whatever hh you had
 988 that take ^off – and it went on (0.2) h and
 989 then – you know – part of this – lesson was
 990 a meat and potatoes lesson, – you – had
 991 certain issues to talk – and then you needed
 992 to get back to work h >Were the answers
 993 predominantly right on the work as they gave
 994 'em to you?< yes they were
 995 Ed: yes!
 996 Vern: That would indicate to me – that >you know<
 997 – the instruction an- – >an- it was< –
 998 Ed: makes sense!
 999 Vern: being successful that – h the evaluation,
 1000 which would be those questions part?=
 1001 Ed: =(um hum)=
 1002 Vern: =Were good. (0.4) You know – that type of

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- 1003 *thing*, so (0.7) yes
 1004 (1.3)
 1005 *Ed* that – and – *ob* 'K ((to observer)) you can
 1006 *turn* it *off*, if you *want*. But can this
 1007 ((recorder turned off))
 1008
 1009
 1010
 1011 *Vern* he – he ((laughter in voice)) starts taping
 1012 again
 1013 *Ed* oh OK, – hi hhh
 1014 *Vern* that *last* -fall this: – *thing* – put you *off*
 1015 – a *whole* lot ((laughter in voice))
 1016 *more* than it does right *now*
 1017 *Ed* yeah¹ *now* it doesn't
 1018 even *faze* me -anymore ((to observer)) you
 1019 have any *questions* that you wanna ^*ask*? >I
 1020 mean just< – I guess it comes – with
 1021 looking at *cultural* – *backgrounds* too
 1022 *especially*; -h looking at *Vern* as an
 1023 -*authority*; and *each* time *he* comes *in* it's
 1024 like being=
 1025 *Duncan* =um hum=
 1026 *Ed* =*him* being the *principal*. -h Or *him* –
 1027 *especially* working -in *personnel*, you know
 1028 -h what are *my* – *what* I- do I *perceive*
 1029 him -to *be*. -h An- – *somebody* that's in
 1030 – you know – a *lot* of -*power*, have a
 1031 *lot* of responsibilities- *somebody* that
 1032 can *really* – help *sh* *ape* – or *break*
 1033 my *future*-hhh ((laughter in
 1034 voice)) hhhh ((out right laughter))
 1035 *Vern* I have *no* power but¹ ((both laugh))
 1036 *Duncan* I *did* notice how the – how the *conversation*
 1037 ended *up* talking about – what kinda ^*jobs* –
 1038 *positions*. y ou it's- was kind
 1039 *Vern* yea h¹
 1040 *Duncan* of – you can kinda look at the *things*
 1041 that're at the *beginning* of might – you know
 1042 *things* that're at the *beginning* of the
 1043 *conversation* >and at the *end*< are probably
 1044 the more *important* things.
 1045 *Vern* Oh when you were talking- yea
 1046 *Duncan* (like) *that* – was im'por tant¹ but *also*
 1047 the *teaching* was (a point at the end but not

- 1048 the reason that)
 1049 Vern: it – uh:m – yeah – well I imagine – *Melanie*
 1050 ((the principal)) might- *did* a lot – (in)
 1051 *that* with you *this* year, she's *extremely*
 1052 *comfortable* to be *comfortable* with
 1053 even though *she is a principal*
 1054 Ed: ye: s:
 1055 Vern: when she *walks* in to *observe*, so
 1056 Ed: and when my lesson *flopped* on my *formal*
 1057 *observation* and *she* made me *re-do* it again,
 1058 hh *that* was the *best* thing that could've
 1059 happened- and *now* it's just (0.6) *I've*
 1060 learned *that* I *don't* have to *over* plan
 1061 anymore. (0.3) -h An- I *can* just *do*: what I
 1062 need to *do*
 1063 Vern: *Ed*¹ – is – *HYPER*perfectionist
 1064 Ed: hhhh
 1065 Vern: and – and you *do*: – I mean you – *really*
 1066 (0.2) I *remember* when you *first* came in *last*
 1067 *-August*, *last fall* – or (when it stopped)
 1068 *everything* – you know – it – was just-
 1069 s, hh shh
 1070 Ed: just *i't* ((laughs))
 1071 Vern: and *we* would – *then* say – *mellow* – ^OUT –
 1072 -Ed.
 1073 Ed: hhhh but I'm *still* like *that* – but not
 1074 (as:
 1075 Vern: yeah¹
 1076 (1.8)
 1077 Vern: *well* you prob- I think you have a *lot* of the
 1078 *good* quality and so *that* those *things* which
 1079 *keep* you – -h um *trying* to do different
 1080 *things*
 1081 Ed: sh, ^
 1082 Vern: different sorts of *activities* and¹
 1083 stuff and so – *um* you know that's
 1084 *im^portant*. Some of *-that*. (You know) *some*
 1085 of the *best* teachers have *some* of *those*
 1086 qualities (0.8) °they shut it out° – that's
 1087 why they' *re really*-
 1088 Duncan: it's level¹ of concern, right?
 1089 Vern: yeah – and- that's *why* you *keep* – you're
 1090 *willing* to *keep* coming back *here* (when)
 1091 you're not working with *kids* – because you
 1092 (0.6) you know – *always* have *another* way of

- 1093 *doing it – you know – there's*
 1094 *al₁ways another chall enge*
 1095 *Ed* sometimes I actua¹ I just – *change*
 1096 my whole *lesson* plan >you know I mean I
 1097 *start*< on some way – then like – I *notice* at
 1098 one *point* in *time* :h the *kids* were headed
 1099 *some-where* – and I sort of *needed* to
 1100 >readapt< like :h >*Kenny* I think it *was*< –
 1101 *be* had *this* idea that – t- the *dams* create
 1102 *tides* – and I went – *oh* – OK >you know
 1103 *ubat* I *mean*? I'm *making*
 1104 *sure* I'm *being* an *active*< listener
 1105 *Vern* y eah¹ °yeah°
 1106 *Ed* to *ubat* their (0.4) *statements* are and
 1107 it's just – *ding* and the *light* *finally* (0.5)
 1108 °went *on* – so *that* was good° :hh what *else*
 1109 was I going to ^ask ^you? – *oh* I know. :h um
 1110 (0.8) *That* *letter* that we *got* – about *saying*
 1111 that we haven't been in *graduate* schoo₁
 1112 *Vern* I¹ –
 1113 *sent* it to :Sean – and *just* said what *is*
 1114 *this* and *be* called me *yesterday* and said
 1115 (0.3) *WHERED YOU GET THAT* -FROM, and I said
 1116 – :h *all* of *my* candidates got *it* they just
 1117 i- (0.4) *ignored* it and *be* s::aid – I said
 1118 – *did* the *other* scho- ie- I don't *know*, >I
 1119 said *something* why don't we *check* with the
 1120 *other* schools< and see if *they* got *it*.
 1121 (0.3) :h *He* was – *upset* *that* it had been
 1122 *sent* out – to *you* guys. *ignore* *it*
 1123 *Ed* °OK° :h *ignore*
 1124 *the* *letter* *enti* *rely*
 1125 *Vern* yeah¹ :p – you don't know
 1126 what we're *talking* about – :hh *is* that=
 1127 *Duncan* =it wasn't signed from ^*our* office?=
 1128 *Vern* =no
 1129 *Ed* the *graduate* school
 1130 *Vern* *that* *that* *since* they hadn't been *students* –
 1131 there at the *university* for a *long* time –
 1132 *they* needed to *reapply* for admission.
 1133 *Ed* hh and I'm going – *just* a *second* *here*, I
 1134 *s uore*
 1135 ()
 1136 *Vern* But – I – *think* one of the *prob'lems* is:
 1137 you're *currently* registered in *continuing*

- 1138 education
 1139 Ed: um 'K
 1140 Vern: versus the *regular* – um *program* – and so –
 1141 *what* happened – *was* – *they* just looked at
 1142 *your* letter an- – *didn't* search far enough
 1143 to find your *name* – in *another* – *file*
 1144 Ed: another
 1145 file
 1146 Vern: yeah=
 1147 Ed: =so – *Sean's* taking care of
 1148 i,t then
 1149 Vern: *yeah* he just sa'id – you know don't wor-
 1150 *that's* – *not* an *issue*.
 1151 Ed: I don't want my
 1152 packet *not* to be *there* on that *day* *
 1153 Vern: *Besides* – *normally* in *summer* schools¹
 1154 we *don't* have to *register* –
 1155 Ed: I know *isn't* that s,tupid
 1156 Vern: for yeah but I don't
 1157 know.
 1158 Ed: >oh and I got my *program* all *typed* out <
 1159 Vern: OK ta-
 1160 Ed: >An-¹ I gotta get a *letter*< to *Doctor*
 1161 *Loman* too (0.4) *she'll* still be *there* *this*
 1162 *summer*? Right I know *she* and
 1163 Duncan: um hum¹
 1164 Ed: *Sean* aren't *getting* along – so
 1165 Vern: I guess you got *those* at the *seminar* when I
 1166 wasn't *there* right?
 1167 Ed: y:.....es:.....
 1168 Vern: And you *were* told to do s'omething
 1169 with them OK good
 1170 Ed: yes and *we* need t'o *turn* it *into* -you
 1171 Vern: oh OK – *because* I haven't asked
 1172 anybody yet. I- w-
 1173 Ed: an- we need to¹
 1174 Vern: *surprised* *Erica* didn't have it *back* to *me*
 1175 like *that* unless *she* gave it to *Helen*
 1176 Ed: no – you want *me* to tell you *why* h- you
 1177 didn't get it *back* *because* h the *day* that –
 1178 I said – I know we *registered* for *these*
 1179 classes *last* term – and *that's* why we
 1180 *couldn't* turn it in – and *we're* all *buffy*
 1181 Vern: ah (yeah)¹
 1182 Ed: about *that* so hhhhhhh

- 1183 *Duncan*: mmmmmm ((all enjoy a chuckle))
 1184 *Vern*: hhhhhh
 1185 *Ed*: hhh so I *finally* got it done *last* night s=
 1186 *Vern*: =yeah – Ok
 1187 *Duncan*: you missed the-?
 1188 *Vern*: *yeab* – well *Helen* told *me* about *it*
 1189 *Ed*: hh °I was (1.0) ₁ ^up-set
 1190 *Vern*: awright¹ (1.2) no:w >we're
 1191 gonna *move on* 'cause we're gonna go see<
 1192 Doug now
 1193 *Ed*: °h if you wanna come *back* – I'm doing
 1194 glasser circle at twelve *fifty*? – to *one* oh
 1195 *five*.
 1196 *Vern*: well:: we *have* Doug at twelve *thirty* to one
 1197 *fifteen*=
 1198 *Ed*: =OK=
 1199 *Vern*: =so – *sorry* about *that*.
 1200 *Ed*: (I think I'll make it)
 1201 *Duncan*: Aren't *people* coming up *Friday*, *they're*
 1202 gonna come in to see *you*? on *Friday*?=
 1203 *Vern*: =um *be* has *one*=
 1204 *Ed*: =just one
 1205 *Vern*: *one* person – so are *you* coming up here
 1206 *Friday*?
 1207 *Duncan*: (I think for some)
 1208 *Vern*: OK – so – if you wanna come *back* and see –
 1209 y- I I might not *be*: – y- well – I'll try
 1210 to- °h you know *get* – maybe if *you're*
 1211 coming up *Friday* – then I'll try to *arrange*
 1212 to *come see Ed* again, so that
 1213 we can – get him on a
 1214 *Ed*: °ob – good I can get¹
 1215 *Vern*: (videocassette)=
 1216 *Ed*: =two for *one*. h, hhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh hhhhh
 1217 *Vern*: Two for *one* in *one week*¹
 1218 make *up* for *all* the weeks I *haven't* been
 1219 around
 1220 *Duncan*: thanks for *letting me in*
 1221 *Ed*: no no *problem* – I'm *assuming* that *things* are
 1222 not alarm-
 1223 ((end tape))

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Duncan Waite is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Educational Leadership, College of Education, University of Georgia. He has published in the *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision*, *Teaching and Teacher Education* and *Urban Education*. He has forthcoming chapters in the *Handbook of Research in School Supervision* and *Discourse and Power in Educational Organizations*.

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